16-20
JACKSON LIBRARY-UNCG
3 0510 0246600R

The Woman's College of
The University of North Carolina
Library

For Building Use Only

F
251
N83
no.16-20
c.1

N.C. Historical Commission

Publications

Nos. 16-20

nc
F
251
N83
no.16-20
c.1

Augustus Lukeman, Sculptor. MONUMENT TO THE NORTH CAROLINA WOMEN OF THE CONFEDERACY. *Henry Bacon, Architect.*

Publications
of the
N.C. Historical Commission
Bulletin no. 16

ADDRESSES

AT THE

UNVEILING OF THE MEMORIAL

TO THE

North Carolina Women of the Confederacy

PRESENTED TO THE STATE BY THE LATE
ASHLEY HORNE

Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR

This book must
not be taken
from the building

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
STATE PRINTERS
1914

36560

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. Peele, Raleigh.

D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson.

M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Monument Commission

JAMES A. LONG, *Chairman.*

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary.*

HENRY A. LONDON.

W. H. S. BURGWYN.*

J. BRYAN GRIMES.

MRS. F. M. WILLIAMS.

THOMAS W. MASON.

* Deceased.

The Benediction

Rev. R. H. Marsh.

O Lord, thou art the God of our Fathers and Mothers. As such we look up to Thee in grateful remembrance of Thy parental presence and protection.

Standing around these monumental stones, erected to the memory of precious mothers and sisters and daughters, we would bless Thy name for all they mean and teach. They rise above earth as a reminder of woman's heavenly, uplifting and ennobling power; they recall the beauty, symmetry and singleness of purpose of Southern womanhood; and mark the purity and strength of her unfailing patriotism and inspiring courage. We behold also in this magnificent shaft—its making and polish—the wearing and self-consumption of woman's loving way of blessing and devotion. By her suffering and enabling, man's noblest achievements are effected. We thank God for her patriotic contribution to Liberty and Union—a contribution not measured by wounds and money, but by a Mother's love for her Home and her Child.

To the God of our Mothers we pray for super-abounding peace and plenty upon our land and country, and especially upon the fast diminishing remnant of faithful ones—of noble women and scar-clad veterans, North and South. "Abide with them; for it is toward evening and the day if far spent."

And may Heaven's choicest benediction rest upon them, their children and their country, 'till earthly monuments and memory shall fade away forever. Amen.

Introductory Note

From time to time since the erection of the monument to the North Carolina soldiers of the Confederacy, in 1895, various plans have been suggested looking to the erection of a similar memorial to the North Carolina Women of the Confederacy. In 1911 Gen. Julian S. Carr, a representative from Durham County, introduced in the House of Representatives a bill providing for the appropriation of a sum sufficient for the erection of such a memorial. The bill, however, failed to be enacted into law. The fate of this bill was a keen disappointment to the thousands of Confederate soldiers of North Carolina who, better than any others, appreciated the services, the sacrifices, and the heroism of the women of the Confederacy. To none was the disappointment keener than to the late Ashley Horne, then a representative in the General Assembly from Johnston County.

Ashley Horne was one of six sons whom his mother gave to the Confederacy, three of whom did not return. He himself was a mere boy of twenty when he volunteered in 1861. He saw four years of arduous service in Eastern North Carolina and under Lee in the Army of Northern Virginia. He was first assigned to Company C, 50th North Carolina Regiment, but was afterwards transferred to the Fifty-third Regiment, of which his older brother, Sam, was lieutenant, in the Daniel-Grimes Brigade, Rode's Division. After Appomattox, as orderly sergeant, he was sent to bear to General Johnston at Greensboro and General Sherman, near Durham's Station, the official news of Lee's surrender.

At the close of his four years of service he returned to his home in Johnston County, where, by hard labor, self sacrifices, and sterling integrity, he accumulated a handsome fortune. His own mother was a typical "North Carolina woman of the Confederacy," and it was through her that he learned to appreciate the heroic qualities of those whom he called "our greatest soldiers from '61 to '65."

Bitterly disappointed at the refusal of the General Assembly to erect a suitable memorial to the Women of the Confederacy, he determined to do so himself. His intimate friends with whom he discussed his plan approving it, he made the formal offer in the following letter to Secretary of State J. Bryan Grimes:

CLAYTON, N. C., December 12, 1911.

HON. J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Secretary of State*,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

MY DEAR COLONEL:—I have been thinking for a long time that the State would never build a Woman's Confederate Monument, and I being a soldier

of Lee's Army for four years, and seeing the work that the women of my State did in carrying food and clothing, and being in every battle that was fought around Richmond, and knowing that they were as great or greater soldiers than the men, I have decided to build this monument myself. The time has come in my life when I think no citizen of the State could think that I have any ulterior motive in so doing.

Therefore, before moving in the matter I desire that you see the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, open this question to them and ascertain if they will agree to let this monument be erected on the ground which I have selected with your assistance.

If they will do so I will be pleased for you to see what you can do in the way of designs from some studio in America and make such selections as you think would be attractive to the eye and to the women of our country, to cost about ten thousand dollars, and submit your selection to me at your convenience.

I trust that I am not troubling you too much in this undertaking, but I know that you are fond of the old soldiers, both living and dead, and are only too glad to be of whatever service you are able to give. Besides you will remember that I bent my gun around a black-jack tree at Appomattox Court House under Grimes' command.

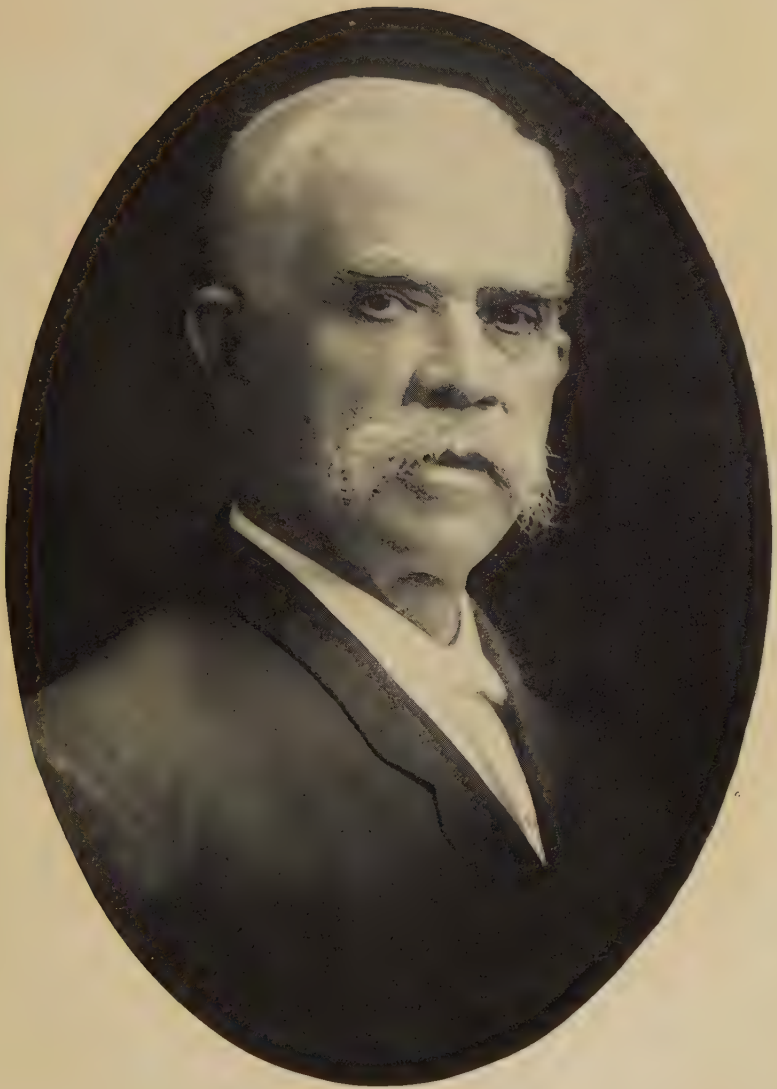
With esteem, I am, Yours truly,

ASHLEY HORNE.

The Council of State promptly accepted the offer and dedicated a site in the capitol square for the monument. Mr. Horne selected the following committee to whom he entrusted entirely the execution of his plans: Messrs. James A. Long, J. Bryan Grimes, W. H. S. Burgwyn, Henry A. London, R. D. W. Connor, and Mrs. Fannie Ransom Williams. Upon the death of Colonel Burgwyn, before the completion of the monument, Mr. Horne selected Capt. Thomas W. Mason to fill the vacancy. The committee selected Colonel Long as Chairman, and Mr. Connor as Secretary, and on July 24, 1912, selected Mr. Augustus Lukeman of New York, as the sculptor to execute the design. The monument was erected and unveiled in the city of Raleigh, June 10, 1914, in the presence of the North Carolina Division, United Confederate Veterans, and of an immense assemblage. It was presented to the State by the Chairman of the Commission, Hon. James A. Long, and accepted by the Governor of North Carolina.

Immediately after the unveiling of the monument the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division, presented to the State a portrait of Mr. Horne, painted by their President, Mrs. Marshall Williams. The portrait has been hung in the Hall of History.

The death of Mr. Horne before the completion of the monument erected by his generosity saddened an occasion which was in all respects one of the most notable in the history of North Carolina.



ASHLEY HORNE.

Order of Exercises

JAMES A. LONG, Presiding.

(In City Auditorium)

Invocation.....REV. E. A. OSBORNE (Late Col. 4th N. C. Reg., C. S. A.)

Music.....THIRD REGIMENT BAND

Address.....DANIEL HARVEY HILL

Music.....THIRD REGIMENT BAND

Poem.....HENRY JEROME STOCKARD

Procession from Auditorium to Capitol Square.

Order of March
- Chief Marshal
- Band
- Carriages
- Confederate Veterans
- Daughters of the Confederacy
- Citizens

EXERCISES AT THE MONUMENT.

Presentation of the Memorial to the State,.....CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION

Acceptance on Behalf of the State.....THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA

Unveiling of the Memorial.....ASHLEY HORNE (Grandson of the Donor)

Music.....THIRD REGIMENT BAND

Benediction..REV. R. H. MARSH, D.D. (Late Chaplain 26th N. C. Reg., C. S. A.)

Invocation

Rev. E. A. Osborne.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name, thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of all those who depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity; we give Thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all the servants, who having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labors. We also thank Thee for that noble generation of men and women who, when their country was in the throes of a long and bloody conflict, endured with such unfaltering courage the sufferings and privations of a desolating war, the survivors of whom have since the war so bravely and faithfully labored amidst all their sorrows and losses to save their country from poverty and ruin, to restore and preserve the blessings of peace.

And especially do we now desire to thank Thee, O Lord, that thou didst endue the hearts and souls of the women of our land with such wonderful courage, fortitude and zeal to bear the hardships, sufferings and afflictions of the dreadful period of bloody and deadly conflict, enabling them to comfort and encourage their loved ones, while they offered and sacrificed their lives upon their country's altar. May this monument now being dedicated to their memory stand for all ages as a faithful and enduring witness of their loyalty and devotion to their country's cause, and of their love and sympathy for those who suffered for their homes. The Lord, grant rest and peace to the souls of all their number who have fallen asleep in Him, and so to fit and prepare those who still survive that they may share with them that rest which remaineth for the people of God.

Finally, we thank Thee for the blessings of peace; and we pray that the sounds of war may be forever hushed throughout the world; and that the time may soon come when all men everywhere shall seek after Thee and find Thee; when all nations shall be brought into Thy fold and the heathen added to Thine inheritance. And we pray Thee shortly to accomplish the number of Thine elect and to hasten Thy kingdom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Women of the Confederacy

Daniel Harvey Hill.

A German economist begins a book with the declaration that every war is either a struggle for the feeding ground or a struggle for a share of the fodder. As in many other cases, this brutal generalization fails to consider opposite instances: for many wars are of course undertaken with no rapacious thought, with the deepest reluctance, and with a full knowledge that self-interest is being ignored.

It was with these latter feelings that North Carolina entered the war of 1861. Her people did not want war. They were devoted to the Union, cemented by the blood, and thought, and suffering of thirteen States. So late as the 25th of February, 1861,—only about four months before her sons on this very day of the month fought at Bethel the opening land battle of the Civil War—her voters by a State election declined to call a convention even to consider withdrawal from the Union, and this too after seven of her sister Southern States had passed ordinances of secession. They believed firmly that a State was sovereign, and had a right to withdraw from the compact of States, but until it appeared that the land of the South was to be trodden by hostile feet and that they themselves must bear arms either for or against their neighboring States, they did not wish to exercise this right. From February to May they were torn with mental conflict. Men who had held federal offices, and shared in the upbuilding of the Union, soldiers who had fought under the old flag in Mexico and in Indian campaigns, unobtrusive citizens who thought more than they spoke—all frequently paced away the hours of the night in agony of soul to decide where the path of duty lay. Women who felt that their decisions would help to mould those of husbands and sons gave "no sleep to their eyes nor slumber to their eyelids" as they sought for a wise decision.

However as events proceeded the conviction at last sank into every mind that North Carolinians could not remain in the Union without giving up three principles imbedded in the granite of their Saxon natures: namely, a State's right to sovereignty, a home which neither man nor army was permitted to invade without fight, and a standing by one's nearest neighbors in an hour of trial. President Lincoln's call for troops to march into the South to coerce the seceding States precipitated the decision. Twenty-five years after the choice was made Senator Z. B. Vance, in a speech before a New England audience, explained how the transition from a desire to remain in the Union to a

determination to secede was made almost in the batting of an eyelid. The news of Mr. Lincoln's call for volunteers reached North Carolina while Vance was speaking to an immense audience. As he pleaded with his hearers to remain in the Union, he raised his hand in a gesture of appeal. Just as his hand was raised, the telegram containing the fatal announcement was shouted from the speaker's stand. Senator Vance says: "When my hand came down from that impassioned gesticulation it fell slowly and sadly by the side of a secessionist. I immediately with altered voice and manner called on the assembled multitude to volunteer, not to fight against but for South Carolina. If war must come, I preferred to be with my own people. If we had to shed blood I preferred to shed Northern rather than Southern blood."

As it was with Senator Vance so it was with the entire State. The decision made, the people threw themselves into the unequal struggle with the grim persistency that has marked every crisis in their lives. As in Mecklenburg in 1775, as at Moore's Creek, at Halifax, at King's Mountain, at Valley Forge, at Stony Point, they stopped not to count the cost. The separation from the Union wrung the fibers of their hearts, but they felt compelled to set their principles above their emotions and their convictions above their interests.

To this point in the struggle, the men and women of North Carolina had acted together. Henceforth their lines of endeavor, although one in aim, separated of course in form of service. We are met, not to commemorate the part the men took when the fires of death were lighted; not to speak of the ensanguined fields where mortals dared immortality, but to tell the story, imperfectly to be sure, of Southern homes when they were stripped of greybeards and fledgelings alike,—fatherless and sonless homes where consuming anxiety could find no palliation in the compelling concentration of battle and where the noblest heroism could display itself only in suffering, in ministration, and in the efficient discharge of trying duties.

The monument to be unveiled within the hour is in memory of those whom to eulogize would be almost sacrilege. Their noblest eulogy is a simple portrayal of their character and their work. The modest donor of this beautiful memorial, a man who did a man's part in the four years of war, who came home with no fortune but his youth and his visions, who with prudence, diligence, and rare business sagacity built up an estate of which any man may be proud, but who in doing so, built up a finer estate in manhood, in charity, in helpful love of neighbors and of country, and in Christian citizenship,—the donor, it seems must have felt the needlessness of words for those of his generation when he said, "The silent woman of the memorial will typify the uncomplaining women of the South."

Words today are for a post-bellum generation which knows not the gracious women of the past, for only a few of these women remain to gladden our lives and prove a benediction in our homes. In compliance with the request of the Committee of Arrangements my theme today is an attempt to portray as well as our imperfect records permit, somewhat of the spirit, the character, and the deeds of the North Carolina women of the Confederacy.

First, as our records everywhere show, she was a woman of metal. The blood of cool-nerved, iron-willed pioneer ancestors whose axes felled timber for the earliest American homes at Roanoke, whose cabins defied natural enemies and Indian savages in the wilds of the Watauga settlements, whose feet trod a road through forest primeval to Kentucky, still coursed in her veins. A self-reliant courage inherited from grandmothers who frequently fired rifles alongside their husbands on the shores of Albemarle Sound and on the banks of the Yadkin River still warmed her heart. The increasing comforts of her age and the refining touch of education had invested her with a finer capacity for suffering, but had not crowded out of her nature an open-aired woman's resoluteness of soul. Hence, when war came, and came in her case with unusual horrors, she met it, not with mere passive fortitude, but with aggressive spirit. To the husband promptly volunteering she meted out encouragement and help; to the husband who faltered, she said, "I know how to live as the widow of a brave man, but I do not know how to live as the wife of a coward." To her sons, she spoke as did Mrs. Reuben Jones of Robeson County, when her brood of eleven sons volunteered within a week, "I cannot hold you when your country calls you," or as Mrs. McLean of Gaston County, when her only son looked into her face for counsel, "God knows I need you but your State now needs you worse than I do," or as Aunt Abby House of Raleigh did to her eight nephews. Mrs. Mary Bayard Clarke quotes this fearless woman as saying: "I can tell you that not a man of my family would I let stay at home in peace if he was able to tote a musket. I said to them, boys, all 'er you go along to the field whar you belongs, and if any of you gits sick or is wounded, you may depend on your old Aunt Abby to nuss and to tend you. For so help me God if one of you gits down and I can't git to you no other way, I'll foot it to your bedsides; and if any one of you dies or gits killed, I promise to bring you home and bury you with your kin." For the man who failed to respond or who sought to evade his duty, the scorn of these women knew no bounds. Corporal Tanner, once commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, had seen in his foes such evidences of this spirit that he said in his Atlanta speech to Confederate veterans:

"Every mother's son of you knew that if you did not keep exact step to the music of Dixie and the Bonny Blue Flag, if you did not tread the very front lines of battle when the contest was on, knew, in short, that if you returned home in aught but soldierly honor that the very fires of hell would not scorch and consume your unshriven souls as you would be scorched and consumed by the scorn and contempt of your womanhood."

In one of our North Carolina communities the young ladies for some time hinted to a robust young laggard that he should enlist. Finally, when their patience was overtried, they sent him a note saying that if he did not at once join a company they would plait their garters into a whip and scourge him from the community. Nor did this spirit sink as disaster thickened. Even so late as '65, General Atkins of General Sherman's advancing army, said to a Carolina lady who was remonstrating against the conduct of his men, "You women of the South keep up this war. We are fighting you. What right have you to expect anything from us?" General Sherman knew their spirit when he said to the women of Savannah, "The men would have given up long ago but for you. I believe you would keep up this war thirty years." General Polk cites an instance of this persistent spirit in a Tennessee woman whose five sons were in the army. Only a fair-haired Benjamin, Edward, remained to minister to her needs. One morning tidings came that her oldest son had been killed. "God's will be done," she exclaimed. "Eddie will be fourteen next spring. He can take Billy's place." Again we meet it in the wife of a distinguished Governor of this State. In answer to a minister's inquiry whether she were not terribly anxious about the safety of her five sons in the service, she said, "No, I would not have it otherwise. My only prayer is that if any of them are to be taken it may be those who are ready to go."

Towards the close of the war, as the lines of communication in the Confederacy were more and more broken the ability of the public and of friends to feed the needy became less and less and as food grew scarce in various sections many of the poorer soldiers were driven to despair by a knowledge that their loved ones were starving at home. When furloughs were refused, some of these men, even splendid soldiers, went home without furloughs. Technically they were deserters, but really they were fathers gone wild. In such cases, the wives and mothers drove them back with entreaties and tears. General Cullen Battle relates this incident. He was detailed to preside over a court-martial. Among the cases was one against Edward Cooper, charged with desertion. The soldier, an artilleryman, pleaded not

guilty, but had no counsel and offered no extenuating evidence. Moved by the man's apparent indifference to a dishonorable death, General Battle at last said, "My man, is it possible that a soldier with your record deserted without cause?" "For the first time," says General Battle, "his form shook and his blue eyes filled with tears. Approaching the president of the court, he presented a letter, and said, 'There, sir, is what did it.' I opened the letter and in a moment my eyes too swam with tears." The letter was as follows:

MY DEAR EDWARD —I have always been proud of you, and since your connection with the Confederate Army I have been prouder than ever before. I would not have you do anything wrong for the world, but before God, Edward, unless you come home we must die. Last night I was aroused by little Eddie's crying. I called, "What's the matter, Eddie?" and he said, "Oh, Mamma, I'm so hungry." And Lucy, Edward, your darling Lucy, she never complains, but she is growing thinner and thinner, and, Edward, unless you come home we must die. Your MARY.

General Battle asked the prisoner, "What did you do when you received this letter?" He answered, "I made application for a furlough, and it was rejected. Again I applied and again it was rejected. That night as I thought of my home with the mild eyes of Lucy looking up to me and the words of Mary sinking into my brain, I was no longer the Confederate soldier, but I was the father of Lucy and the husband of Mary, and I would have passed those lines if every gun in the battery had fired on me." He then added, "When my wife found I had no furlough, she said, with a catch in every word, "Oh, Edward, Edward, go back! Go back! Let me and my children go down to the grave but save the honor of our name." "Now," continued he, "I am here, gentlemen, not brought back by military power but in obedience to the command of Mary to abide the sentence of your court."

In the second place the woman of the Confederacy was a capable woman. In some quarters there has been a belief that the ante-bellum women of the South lived, as Joel Chandler Harris puts it, "In a state of idleness, languishing in hammocks while bevies of pickanninies cooled the tropical air about her with long-handled fans made of peacock tails." The truth is that no women worked harder or bore more constant and arduous responsibilities than did the mistress of a well-regulated slave plantation. Thousands of them, on hearing that the slaves were freed, echoed the exclamation of the Georgia woman, "Thank God, I shall have to work for them no more." The keys suspended from the mistress' girdle were no idle symbol of authority. In addition to the cares of her own family, cares from which many of her descendants shrink or absolutely refuse, she carried always in her thought and on her conscience the childlike dependents in her

slave quarters. Recall, you ladies who sink into nervous prostration over the burden of a solitary husband, the daily round of these women. There were the issuance of rations, the superintendence of their cooking, the prevention of waste. There were the assignment of morning and evening tasks, and vigilance to see that these tasks were performed. There was attention necessary to be assured that cotton and wool were carded, spun, woven, dyed for clothing the entire plantation. There was oversight of the rooms where this cloth was cut, fitted, and fashioned into garments. There were shoes to be made or mended. There were daily inspections of the quarters to see that they were neat and sanitary. There were daily visits to the sick and a constant ministration to the aged. There was systematic instruction of her slaves in manners and morals—in short, as some one truly phrased it, the mistress was the greatest slave on the plantation which moved at her command. On farms where there were fewer slaves the burden was less but the care unceasing.

At the advent of war, these efficient women had to enlarge their burdens to assume those dropped by absent fathers and husbands. With rare competence, they assumed the control of farms, stock, and slaves. Aided by trusted negro foremen they planned the crops and guided their planting, cultivation and harvesting. They bought the yearly supplies and sold such products as could be spared. They financed the homes and industries of the State. In families where there were no slaves, the women often tilled fields and reaped harvests. In many of these homes want was felt acutely before the war was over and the women and children had to be helped by neighbors and by the public. In the last year of the war, many negroes joined the Federals in the eastern part of the State. Then women of wealth were forced to join their poorer friends in manual toil. One society belle writes, "I had eleven ladies working in the field with me today. I have myself recently hoed 2,500 hills of corn." The fact that during the four years of war "seed time and harvest never failed" attests the capacity of these women. Not only did they feed the State, but General Joseph E. Johnston is authority for the statement that for some months prior to the surrender General Lee's army had been fed almost entirely from North Carolina, and that at the time of his own surrender he had collected provisions enough from the same State to last for some months. This continuation of farm work would have been impossible but for the faithfulness of the slaves.

Our people ought never to forget the fidelity of the negroes during those defenceless days. With the doors of freedom open for them, with opportunities for lawlessness during the absence of their owners,

Bas Relief on the East Side of the Pedestal.

Bas Relief on the West Side of the Pedestal.

with a growing knowledge that the success of the Confederate army would mean a continuance of their slavery at least for a time, the negroes for the most part refused to sever the ties that bound them to their white families and continued their daily duties. In attendance on their masters in the field, in moving them from the field when they were wounded, in bringing home the bodies of their slain, in secreting and caring for family treasures, in watching over family interests, and in other ways, hundreds of negroes displayed a noble fidelity that should always be remembered. How surely these facts will always establish the kindly relations that existed between the white families and the colored families on the plantation home!

As the number of soldiers to be maintained increased, the women assumed additional responsibilities. The newspapers mention how they organized Sewing Societies, Knitting Associations, Hospital Aid Societies, Nursing Clubs. What Mrs. Avery says of Virginia was also true of North Carolina, "In some places churches were changed into depots for bolts of cloth, linen, and flannel. Sewing machines ran constantly. Nothing could be heard in them for days but the click of machines, the ceaseless murmur of voices questioning and voices directing work." At railroad junctions, such as Raleigh, Greensboro, Charlotte, Salisbury, Weldon, Goldsboro, and other towns, wayside hospitals equipped with surgeons, medical supplies, and rude operating tables were established. Committees of women went from house to house distributing cloth to be sewed and yarns to be woven and then recollected and shipped their offerings. Representatives of various organizations met trains at stations and added of their own household supplies to the meager rations of passing soldiers. Nurses passed from field hospitals to field hospitals as the tide of battle moved. After an arduous day women often collected or sat solitary in their homes to sew or knit far into the night, their labor sweetened by the thought that the work of their tired hands would add comfort to those who were dying for the land they loved. General Lee writes that in the stillness of the night he could almost hear the needles at home click as they flew through the meshes, and General Gordon adds that every click was a prayer and many a stitch dimmed with tears.

To get an adequate measure of the burdens imposed on these capable women, let us recall a striking fact in our history. The census of 1860 shows that in North Carolina there were between the ages of 20 and 60—the limits of military service—128,889 men. Subtract from this total number the 125 thousand men furnished to the Confederacy by our State and the subtraction reveals that there were in the borders of the State only 3,889 men who first and last were not in some form

of military service. Hence the women of the State and the 3,889 men had to do as best they could the work that would have fallen on the shoulders of the absent 125,000 men. These bare facts reveal the wonderful competency of these women.

In the third place the woman of the Confederacy was an inventive woman. This inventive genius was to have a far-reaching influence on the subsequent industrial life of our State. As I see it, almost every smoke-stack that towers over its adjacent factory is a monument to industrial power developed by the Civil War. Almost every hammer that rings in our workshops proclaims how our necessities diversified our industries. Let us see how such propositions can be established.

At the opening of the war our people were a single industry people. Outside of a small number of men engaged in the so-called learned professions, farming was almost the sole gainful occupation. We grew cotton, but New and Old England spun, wove, dyed and profited by it. We cultivated tobacco for others to manufacture. Trees crowded our fields, but we bought our furniture. In short, as an alliterative fancier sums up "for manufactured articles from linch pins to locomotives, from boats to buttons, from flannels to fans, from pens to plows," we were dependent on outside markets. The census of 1860 discloses the fact that there were at that time only 3,689 small manufacturing establishments of any sort in North Carolina and that most of these employed few laborers. Out of a total population of 992,622 only 14,217 men were engaged in any form of manufacturing. In the following most important industries the number of workers was as follows: wrought iron, 125 men; cast iron, 59; making clothes for sale, 12; manufacturing boots and shoes, 176; tanning, 93; compounding medicines, 1. There were only seven small woolen mills. There were four recorded makers of firearms and these four shops were so recklessly extravagant as to employ eleven men and consume $1,000 worth of raw material each year. We were without lead, iron, coal or salt. This was our deplorable industrial situation when we were suddenly cut off from outside markets and became dependent on our own resources.

The imperative need of remedying this disastrous situation set our men and our women to manufacturing. Before the protracted struggle ended we had learned two ways of supplying our most urgent needs; first, by a dashing, persistent, and reckless running of the blockade from our seaport towns; second, by an almost marvelous development of small industries. From the State arsenal at Fayetteville we began to turn out each month what Major M. P. Taylor reports as 500 excellent rifles. At the Falls of the Neuse and at other places a

serviceable gunpowder was made. At several places salt works were established. Military supplies of various kinds were wrought out in rude factories. Woolen and cotton mills were set up. Tanneries were multiplied. Clothing and shoe factories were operated—in brief, a capable people found themselves in sore straits. Promptly they aroused themselves and met the emergencies thrust upon them, met them, not adequately to be sure, for the time was too short and men too scarce, but met them in such a way as to evoke the admiration of all thinking people. The articles produced were of course not finished mechanical products, but they answered pressing needs. We learned the lesson out of the travail of our souls, but we learned to too well ever to forget it, and as soon as the mournful days of reconstruction were over, we turned again to manufacturing and have ever since been growing in aptitude for industrial arts.

In the inventiveness necessitated by the war, the women took a most active part. Their resourcefulness seemed to grow as new demands were made on it. As soon as the supply of clothing in the stores began to fail, old spinning frames and looms were dragged from garrets and cellars. New looms were constructed. Hands all unusued to that work began to ply bobbins and shuttles. Home spun cloth as durable as it was ugly was made in almost every home. Soldiers, women, children, and slaves were clad in this uniform of the farm. To relieve its unmitigated ugliness dyes of various hues were concocted from poke-berries, elder berries, and roots in home-made dyepots and boilers. The wool from old mattresses was often recarded and spun into yarns for socks to keep the soldiers from having cold feet in battle and in camp. A pair of cards was a treasure and the famous blockade runner, *Advance,* carried few more precious commodities in her hold. Factories to make cards were later created to supplement the supply made in blacksmith shops. Nor was spinning and weaving confined to coarse yarns. Old silken garments were painstakingly separated thread by thread and woven into gloves and stockings. In sections where it would grow flax was planted and some excellent linen woven. Carpets were unravelled and the woolen strands woven into blankets. New carpets were made from rags and scraps. In answer to a call for silk for war balloons, discarded silken dresses were dismembered and the silk furnished. Veteran garments mustered out of service years before were conscripted and made to enlist for indefinite service. These garments outlived their expectancy on the principle formulated by the old lady who explained that her soldier son's solitary pair of socks never wore out because "when the feet get full of holes I just knit new

feet to the tops, and when the tops wear out I just knit new tops to the feet." Slippers were made from rabbit and squirrel fur, and from old tent canvas. Hats were fabricated from palmetto leaves, from wheat and oat straw and from broad-leaved gasses. Corn husks bleached in water and colored to suit the complexion made bewitching bonnets. Wire grass plaited and adorned with white shavings from cow horns was another source of millinery effect. Buttons were made from gourds and pine whittled round and covered with cloth. Children's clothes were fastened with buttons of persimmon seeds. Necklaces constructed from berries served as ornaments for pretentious occasions.

In manufacturing household articles a similar ingenuity was shown. Ink, colored with indigo or berry juice, was made from oak and cedar balls. Envelopes were shaped by means of tin models and gummed with flour paste. Old scraps of wall paper folded in these envelopes served to carry a mother's blessing or a sweetheart's love to absent soldiers. When oil grew scarce, no little inventive genius was developed in devising lights for the home. Tallow candles served at first, but as beeves disappeared, other forms of illumination became necessary. In some homes sycamore balls were soaked in fat and burned in pans. Strings twisted hard were thrust into bottles filled with grease, tar, or beeswax and spluttered out light enough to distinguish a spoon from a fork. Soap was made from ham bones already stripped to the point of emaciation by hungry teeth. Every home had its ash-hopper to leach lye. Cartridge belts and boxes were manufactured from layers of cloths sewed together and covered with varnish. Nitre for gunpowder was often dug by the women from old smokehouses and tobacco barns.

Coffee disappeared from most homes before the close of the first year of war. Substitutes for this indispensable beverage were made from parched okra seed, from parched wheat, rye, and oats and from dried potatoes and cowpeas. Chicory and postum are lineal descendants of these delightsome beverages. Tea was brewed from yaupon and from sassafras roots. Both tea and coffee were sweetened with sorghum molasses. A soup was devised from tallow, persimmons and sorghum. Mrs. F. C. Roberts writes proudly that she concocted a Christmas cake for her children out of dried cherries, dried whortleberries, candied watermelon rind and sorghum molasses. One lady avowed that she could make fifteen different dishes from dried apples. The forms in which cowpeas could be served were as numerous as the sands on the seashore.

A fourth characteristic of the Confederate woman was that she was a self-forgetful woman. There was no reservation in her willingness

to serve her war-torn country. This self-abnegation was revealed in many ways. Sometimes it took the form of personal service. Randolph Ridgeley lay severely wounded in a Virginia front yard. The surgeon said he could not be moved and that he would die if he did not sleep. A Winchester girl, an utter stranger to the nerve-wracked man, sat down on the ground and taking the young man's head in her lap soothed him to sleep. Then she sat immovable through the chilly damp of the night. Her nobility of nerve saved a soldier to fight for the cause dear to her heart. Hence in the weeks of illness that followed her exposure she rejoiced instead of repined. Poor blind Mrs. Roland of Richmond, consumed with a desire to contribute her part in spite of her affliction, groped from day to day to the hospitals and with guitar and songs quieted the restless sufferers. Sometimes it manifested itself in abstaining from such foods as could be used for soldiers' rations. Incident after incident is on record where for months women existed only on such perishable foods as could not be shipped to the army. To remonstrances that she was killing herself, one of these heroines replied, "I can do so little, let me do that little even if I die." Many a mound in quiet cemeteries testifies to the depth of their sacrifice. Sometimes it revealed itself in cheery letters to absent ones when the wolf of hunger was howling at doors within which idolized children cried for bread. Sometimes it disclosed itself in an ungrudging sharing of the cruse of oil. A few months before Lee's surrender tidings reached central North Carolina that his army was out of food. At once in homes both humble and stately a division was made even to the last peck of meal, and with no reckoning for tomorrow the contribution to the army was shipped. When a tax in kind was levied by the State, a tax that took a share in whatever remained in the storehouses and in the crib, the women in charge of the homes met the tax with little evasion.

Nor did this spirit of self-forgetfulness fail these women when hopes were shattered and the grievous hour of surrender ended cherished dreams. As the men in grey, tattered, footsore, dispirited, confounded, returned to their desolated homes, their wives greeted them with undimmed courage and sweet resolution. They aroused them by words and deeds to manly endeavor. Although after the surrender and after the negroes quit the fields, want "stalked like an armed man," these women found spirit to jest at poverty and in many towns "Starvation parties" and "Tacky sociables," "where each came hungry and each left empty," were given in honor of the returned soldiers. Many of these women were living in cabins near the ashes of once beautiful homes. Many, adjusting themselves to poverty, were learning the economy of

life anew and sustaining their families on less than had formerly been wasted. In some homes faithful negroes served on and expected only such wages as could be spared; in others mothers with their children were struggling alone for daily bread. But, as they had borne the anxieties and griefs of war undismayed, they were now ready with hope and firmness to start life again with their paroled husbands. How, under the inspiration of these Confederate women, homes once more became homes indeed, industries were revived, fields again returned their yields, order and system and law once more reigned, is a glorious part of our history. Nay more, in the face of grinding duties, these stirring women at once bethought them to preserve the memories of that momentous struggle. Hardly were their dead buried from their sight before they sought means to keep green their deeds. They started the custom of annually bedecking their graves with flowers and commemorating their valor in addresses and memorials. They denied themselves rest and comfort that public monuments might be reared. They struggled for homes and pensions for disabled soldiers. They established journals and magazines and their pens and their depleted purses have saved nearly all the recorded history of those days. Blot out what the women have done to preserve the history of the Confederacy and you have almost an untouched page.

Lastly the woman of the Confederacy was a womanly woman. She craved no queenhood except the sovereignty of her own home. She desired no subjects save those of her own household, and there she ruled with gentle if imperial graciousness. Accustomed to manage large households of children and of slaves, she early acquired dignity, earnestness, and the self-control which enables its possessor to control others. She never thought of doubting that her sphere of action was the home, and she centered her efforts on making that home a place of refinement and comfort. Her children were trained to rigid obedience, and early taught to despise cowardice, dishonesty, and an unsquare deal. Her first instruction in the citizenship of her sons was that an office was held for the State, a trust was sacred, and one's word as inviolable as a volume of oaths. "Strength and dignity were her clothing; she opened her mouth with wisdom, and the law of kindness was on her tongue. She looked well to the ways of her household, and she ate not the bread of idleness. Her children rose up and called her blessed; her husband also."

Augustus Lukeman, Sculptor.

BRONZE GROUP OF THE MONUMENT TO THE NORTH CAROLINA WOMEN OF THE CONFEDERACY.

Stanzas

Henry Jerome Stockard.

She calmly brought his sabre bright,
Tempered with death;
And, girding him, her all, aright,
She spoke with eyes of kindling light
More than tongue uttereth.

And then she waved farewell at last,
With grief struck dumb,
As bannered squadrons hurried past,
And bugles with imperious blast
Stammered delirium.

It was not hard to charge abreast
On trembling slopes,—
Alone, at Honor's stern behest,
To cross the red, infernal crest
That barred his people's hopes.

But man might quail to face her fate:
Distraught by fears,
To wake from troubled dreams, and wait
The midnight courier at the gate,
Through slow, ensanguined years;—

To welcome grief for which were vain
All anodyne;
To dip into the cup of pain
Her final crust and, smiling, drain
The draught as generous wine.

Would some Euripides could give,
In words to bide,
This later tragical reprieve,
When our Alcestis dared to live
While her Admetus died!

By Rappahannock's moaning wave
Mayhap he fell;
At Shiloh, leading on the brave,—
Or in some rifle-pit, his grave,
Where raked the random shell;—

Or, haply, where her presence bore
That grim, gray line
At Gettysburg, all barriers o'er,
Like a ninth wave on an iron shore,
Which ebbs by will divine.

Perchance his tomb in the old church-yard
Knew her caress;
It may be, where his form lay charred
On fire-swept wolds, the owl kept ward
In the dark Wilderness.

Still, though, recumbent in the hall
Of memory laid,
And limned upon its mournful wall,
He dwelt with her in spirit by all
The bolts of death unstayed;—

Dwelt in his sons, whose faith profound
Saw, throned afar,
The proud South, once in shackles bound,
Upon whose brow with glory crowned
Glittered the morning star.

The canvas can not hold her grace:
Its colors warm
The damps of centuries erase;
Yet o'er the scathing years her face
Will live beyond all harm.

Nor bronze nor stone shall bear her name
Through time to-be:
These may be touched by frost or flame
And sink in ruin, while her fame
Is for eternity.

Nor yet may story guard the trust,
Nor song divine;
They, like their builders, turn to dust:—
Beyond corrupting moth and rust
Stands, veiled with light, her shrine.

And Love will keep it, Love alone,
Safe from decay,—
Love wherewith God himself is one,—
When time's rule shall be overthrown,
And earth shall pass away.

Address of Presentation

JAMES A. LONG.

It is my most pleasant duty, as chairman of the Memorial Commission, and representing the family of the late Col. Ashley Horne, the donor, to present to the State of North Carolina, through you, its Governor, this magnificent monument.

I mourn today with his family and all the State that he is not here to witness this great occasion. This is a gift that came from the very heart of the giver, and was erected to commemorate the fortitude and heroism of the noble women of the South during the War between the States, when everything was sacrificed except honor, in the struggle which so unhappily divided the country, but now happily reunited by ties never again to be severed.

Colonel Horne loved the South; he loved most that type of life found in our Southern women, and this monument is to memorialize the bravest of the brave.

We are not ashamed of our part in this war. We shall never apologize for the part of our women in this struggle. We fought an honest fight; they endured a long siege; we both won the respect of a world-nation.

Life is too intricate even in peace, more so in war, to be revealed in a single volume; to be told by a single shaft. No monument can tell in full the heroism of our Southern women; no shaft can reveal their role in our four years' struggle, and while it cannot be told in full it can be remembered in part. It took Colonel Horne to appreciate this fact; it took his generous soul to make possible this memorial occasion; and this has been the patriotism of the late Ashley Horne; to do as well as to appreciate. He emerged from the war—yes, from the old South, with a faith that counted much in the building of the new.

And while we dedicate this monument to the very best in Southern history, let us not forget that type of southern heroes found in the life of Col. Ashley Horne. He always measured the full breadth of a man; a hero in times of war; a patriot in times of peace.

He has honored the South by honoring the best in the South; he has memorialized their virtues; let us remember his character. It takes the best in both sex to make a strong nation.

I now present this monument, Governor, to the State. It is now within your keeping. Let our State hold fast to the very best of our war history.

Address of Acceptance

GOVERNOR LOCKE CRAIG.

The State accepts this monument with grateful appreciation. It is the tribute of a knightly soldier to the Women of the Confederacy.

The statue is epic: Arms and the Man. Its theme is heroism and devotion; the inheritance of the children of the South. The bronze group represents the grandmother unrolling to the eager youth, grasping the sword of his father, the scroll of the father's deeds. The bronze etchings on the faces of the pedestal suggest the outlines of her story. To the earnest beholder the statue is illumined with unfolding meaning. His vision will determine its revelation.

As we look upon it, there rises out of the past a time when the spirit of war moved upon the depths of human thought, and summoned the elemental forces to titanic strife. We feel the throes of the mighty upheaval. The heavens are black with tempests, and ominous with the voices of ancient war and unutterable woe. We see "the marshaling in arms, and battle's magnificently stern array." Lovers say good bye with tokens of plighted troth; the young mother and the father in uniform, kneel together, weeping over the cradle of their new born babe; there are tears and everlasting farewells; the cavalcades are filing off; the tramp of innumerable armies is heard. In secret the mother—this Woman of the Confederacy—prays and weeps with breaking heart for the boy who marches away to the wild, grand music of the bugles.

We hear the din of martial hosts, and squadrons galloping in the storm. They rush to the onset amid the rattle of musketry and thunders of field artillery. They defy carnage and death; they are torn by bursting shells and pierced by bullets and cut with steel; they stagger and fall on the bloody ground; the resolute survivors close in and press on. In the crash of doom the gray line stands, despising hunger and pain and death. Before the numberless battalions they are Vikings in the hour of despair. They feel the pulsations of the unconquerable hearts that beat at home. At home alone, the wives and mothers, these Women of the Confederacy, in patience and suffering, are listening for the coming of those who will never return—will never return, but march on forever in the militant hosts of the heroic of all kindred and nations, that have redeemed and glorified the world.

We dedicate this monument as a symbol of our veneration. We dedicate this monument as a covenant that we too, in blessed remembrance of them, shall strive for fidelity and courage.

In unfaltering obedience Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac. For this, "the Angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of Heaven and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore: and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

The Women of the Confederacy, in supreme consecration, did lay upon the altar of Dixie their first born, the fairest and the bravest of the world. And because they did this thing, we too are the children of the Covenant. The promise to Abraham was not alone for the seed of Abraham. It is the universal decree, divinely beautiful and divinely terrible. It is the law of development for all the children of men. Everlasting faith is a well of strength springing up into everlasting life.

Had the men and the women of the South been recreant, had they shrunk from the sacrifice of war, their children today would be the disinherited heirs of the promise, a dishonored and a degenerate people.

In the onward march of the race, these world conflicts must come. That people survives, gathers strength, becomes puissant in human destiny that has the faith and the courage for the supreme issue. The immediate result is not the final judgment. Who won at Thermopylae, the Persians or the Spartans? Who was victorious at the Alamo, Santa Anna or Travis? Who triumphed, Socrates or his judges, Jesus or Pontius Pilate?

The glory of France is the Old Guard at Waterloo. The noblest feelings of the English heart are stirred by the Light Brigade charging to death at Balaklava. Lexington and Guilford Court House are as dear to us as Trenton and Yorktown.

Disaster does not always destroy. The winds may blow; the rains may descend; houses and lands may be swept away; but God has placed His bow in the heavens as a promise that the storm shall cease, and the waters subside: the scorching drouth may wither the fields, untimely frost may kill our corn and fruit; yet in the procession of the seasons, the rain and sunshine will again clothe hill and mead in verdure, and harvest fields will wave in golden plenty. Armies may be destroyed, "Far called, our navies melt away"; yet from a land consecrated by the blood of the brave, from a soil enriched by glorious tradition, tried and purified by fire, a nobler, stronger race will spring. But over the waste of moral desolation, there comes no rejuvenating spring. Upon

a land blighted by the cowardice of those who should defend it, there is the judgment of decay and death.

The heroic past is our priceless inheritance. Our armies were destroyed; our land was smitten by war; our homes were ravaged by avenging armies. We were plundered by the hordes of reconstruction. But standing in this land that has suffered, amid this throng of gray-haired veterans, and their kindred and descendants, I declare that the legacy of the war is our richest possession. I utter the sentiments of every maimed soldier; of every soldier who gave the best of his young life to "the storm-cradled nation that fell," of every bereaved widow and mother; and if I could speak for the dead, I would utter the sentiment of the forty thousand sons of the State who fell upon fields of battle, when I declare that they would not revoke that sacrifice.

Some of you can remember when the young soldier was brought home dead, when the maiden was clothed in her first sorrow, and the old gray head was bowed in the last grief. The mothers of the South had sent their sons to the front as the Spartan mother when she delivered the shield to her son with the command: "Return with it, or upon it." They wept in silent desolation, but in their grief there was exaltation, for they knew that their sons had done a soldier's part, that in the tumult of historic days they had fought and fallen beneath the advancing flag; that in strange lands, wounded and neglected, they had suffered without complaint, and bequeathing a message for home, had died, as a conqueror, without a murmur.

> "While one kissed a ringlet of thin gray hair,
> And one kissed a lock of brown."

Hail to you, Women of the Confederacy, that bore them and nurtured them, and offered them for sacrifice! In you and in your descendants is vouchsafed the promise to Abraham: Henceforth all generations shall call you blessed.

From the shadow of war we sweep into the grander day. The earth is hallowed because it is the sepulcher of the brave; not men whose victories have been inscribed upon triumphal columns, but men whose memorial is, that in courage and loyalty to conviction, they were steadfast unto death; men who have been stoned and scourged, and quailed not before the mighty. "Their heroic sufferings rise up melodiously together to Heaven out of all lands, and out of all times, as a sacred *Miserere;* their heroic actions as a boundless everlasting Psalm of Triumph." They are the conquerors. The South has forever a part in that chorus of victory.

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.
The North Carolina Historical Commission occupies the second floor.

Bulletin no. 17

FIFTH BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

North Carolina Historical Commission

December 1, 1912 to
November 30, 1914

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING COMPANY
STATE PRINTERS
1914

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, Chairman

W. J. PEELE	M. C. S. NOBLE
D. H. HILL	THOMAS M. PITTMAN

R. D. W. CONNOR, Secretary

Raleigh

Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission

To His Excellency,
HON. LOCKE CRAIG,
Governor of North Carolina.

SIR:—In compliance with the law and for the information of your Excellency, we submit herewith the report of the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, together with a statement of the receipts and disbursements of said Commission, for the biennial period, December 1, 1912, to November 30, 1914.

We have carefully considered said report and approved it.

Respectfully submitted,

J. BRYAN GRIMES,
Chairman.
T. M. PITTMAN,
W. J. PEELE,
M. C. S. NOBLE,
D. H. HILL,
Commissioners.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
December 23, 1914.

NORTH CAROLINA HALL OF HISTORY.
East Hall.

Report of the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission

DECEMBER 1, 1912–NOVEMBER 20, 1914

MESSRS. J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman;* W. J. PEELE, D. H. HILL, M. C. S. NOBLE, and THOMAS M. PITTMAN, *Members of the North Carolina Historical Commission.*

GENTLEMEN:—I beg leave to submit herewith my report as Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission for the biennial period beginning December 1, 1912, and ending November 30, 1914.

ORGANIZATION.

On April 1, 1913, the terms of office of Messrs. Noble and Pittman expired, but both were promptly reappointed by the Governor for the term ending April 1, 1919.

At a meeting of the Commission, April 29, 1913, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes was elected Chairman and R. D. W. Connor, Secretary, for the term ending April 1, 1915.

At this same meeting, in view of the fact that the collections in the Hall of History were soon to be placed in custody of the Historical Commission, Fred A. Olds was elected "Collector for the Hall of History," his term of office to begin when the above mentioned collections were formally turned over to the Historical Commission by the authorities of the State Museum.

OFFICE FORCE.

Since my last report the following persons have been, for the periods specified, in the employment of the Commission: R. D. W. Connor as Secretary, December 1, 1912, to November 30, 1914; Fred A. Olds as Collector for the Hall of History, February 18 to November 30, 1914; Miss Marjory Terrell as stenographer, December 1, 1912, to November 30, 1914; Miss Emily Taylor as restorer of manuscripts, December 1, 1912, until her resignation June 30, 1914; Mrs. J. M. Winfree as restorer of manuscripts, September 14 to November 30, 1914; and William Birdsall as messenger, December 1, 1912, to November 30, 1914. From September 24 to October 6, 1914, Mr.

William Berwick, restorer of manuscripts in the Library of Congress, was with the Commission giving a course of instruction in the restoration of manuscripts.

NEW QUARTERS.

On January 12, 1914, the Commission began the removal of its collections from the quarters in the Capitol which it had occupied since July 1, 1907, to its present quarters in the State Administration Building. These quarters were assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly of 1913 (Public Laws, chapter 99). They consist of two large exhibition rooms, one at each end of the building, used for the Hall of History, where are exhibited the Commission's collections of relics, manuscripts, rare editions, and portraits; a document room for filing the manuscripts collections of the Commission; two offices occupied by the Secretary and his stenographer; two rooms occupied by the department for the repair and mounting of manuscripts; an office for the Collector for the Hall of History; two rooms temporarily occupied by the State Library Commission; and a storage and shipping room.

The building in which we are now installed is equipped throughout with steel furniture, and is believed to be fireproof.

The assignment of these quarters to the Historical Commission is a significant recognition by the General Assembly of the necessity for properly caring for the State's archives and historical collections, and of the important place which the Historical Commission has won in the life and activities of the State. It offers to the Commission largely increased opportunities for service, and of course imposes correspondingly increased obligations. Whether we are taking advantage of these opportunities and meeting these obligations will be shown, I trust, by this report.

CLASSIFICATION AND ARRANGEMENT OF COLLECTIONS.

THE STATE ARCHIVES.

The classification and arrangement of the public archives in our custody is the most pressing work at present. These archives, extending from colonial times to the present, are so ex-

tensive and our forces available for this work so small, that it has not been pushed as rapidly as its importance deserves. These papers as they come to us are in great disorder, and altogether without scientific arrangement. Each document has to be handled a great many times before it can finally be assigned to its proper place. The work, therefore, is very slow and the results do not give an adequate idea of the time, attention and careful consideration which are given to it.

The correspondence of the governors since the adoption of the Constitution of 1776 has received our first attention. This collection we have classified and partially arranged in 158 boxes, containing, by a careful estimate, between 23,000 and 24,000 manuscripts. The arrangement, however, has not been completed and these interesting and illuminating papers are not yet available for historical purposes.

It ought to be understood that this is a mere beginning upon the immense collections which make up the body of the State's archives; and that the task of classifying, arranging and indexing them is one that will extend over a period of several years.

Historical Manuscripts.

We have completed the arrangement of the following collections: Calvin H. Wiley Papers, 1835-1902; William A. Graham Papers, 1828-1885; Jonathan Worth Papers, 1840-1869; Martin Van Buren Papers (copies), 1823-1858; John J. Crittenden Papers (copies), 1827-1863; David L. Swain Collection, 1711-1869; Walter Clark Collection, 1783-1913; W. H. S. Burgwyn Papers, 1861-1912; John Henry Boner Letters, 1901-1903; Jeffrey Papers, 1833-1871; William Smith Papers, 1793-1798; Charles B. Aycock Papers, 1909-1912; Macon-Eaton Papers, 1804-1868; Bryan Grimes Papers, 1840-1912; Charles E. Johnson Collection, 1755-1875; Pettigrew Papers, 1772-1900; Z. B. Vance Papers, 1827-1894; Archibald D. Murphey Papers, 1797-1830; William L. Saunders Papers, 1866-1888; Cornelia P. Spencer Papers, 1859-1905; John H. Bryan Papers, 1773-1909; William Duffy Papers, 1788-1809; Miscellaneous Papers, 1739-1912.

Repair of Manuscripts.

The work of repairing, mounting and binding manuscripts has been continued. Since my last report we have repaired,

mounted and bound in handsome and substantial binding the following collections:

E. J. Hale, 498 Mss.
Dartmouth Papers, 63 Mss.

and have repaired, mounted, and made ready for binding the following collections:

Z. B. Vance Papers, 2,000 Mss. (estimated).
Archibald D. Murphey Papers, 351 Mss.
W. L. Saunders Papers, 115 Mss.
Cornelia P. Spencer Papers, 282 Mss.

ACCESSIONS.

Since my last report several important additions have been made to the manuscript collections of the Commission.

The following additions have been made to collections already begun and previously reported:

Walter Clark Collection, 55 Mss. Presented by Judge Clark.
W. A. Graham Papers, 43 Mss. Presented by Major W. A. Graham.
Chas. E. Johnson Collection, 22 Mss. From the Hall of History.
Pettigrew Papers, 23 Mss. Presented by Misses Pettigrew and J. Bryan Grimes.
John H. Bryan Papers, 81 Mss. Presented by J. Bryan Grimes.

The following are new collections:

W. H. S. BURGWYN PAPERS.

Upon the death of the late Col. W. H. S. Burgwyn, Mrs. Burgwyn promptly turned over his papers to the Historical Commission. The collection contains interesting material, particularly a number of letters written by Colonel Burgwyn from the battlefields of the Civil War; and also letters bearing upon his efforts during the latter years of his life to collect and preserve material relating to the history of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment. The collection contains 249 manuscripts.

JEFFREYS PAPERS.

From Mr. Jeffreys of Wake County we have received a collection of thirty-nine letters of his father, the late Dr. Jeffreys.

ARCHIBALD D. MURPHEY PAPERS.

Mr. W. Henry Hoyt of New York has presented the Commission with the originals, 351 in number, of his collection of

the "Papers of Archibald D. Murphey," which are to be published by the Commission under that title.

William Duffy Papers.

From Mr. Hoyt also the Commission received a small collection of fifty-nine letters of William Duffy.

Thomas Ruffin Papers.

From the family of the late Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, through Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, we have received 1,625 letters of Judge Ruffin, the great majority of them being letters written to him.

Martin Van Buren Papers.

From the Martin Van Buren Papers in the Library of Congress, the Commission had copied eighty-nine letters to or from North Carolinians, or about North Carolina affairs.

John J. Crittenden Papers.

From the John J. Crittenden Papers in the Library of Congress we had copied twenty-nine letters to or from North Carolinians.

Macon-Eaton Papers.

Miss Laura Eaton Alston of Warrenton presented to the Commission a collection of seventy-four letters to or from Nathaniel Macon, Weldon N. Edwards, and William Eaton.

Bond Papers.

The Bond Papers are a collection of miscellaneous colonial papers, numbering 207, received from Miss Tillie Bond of Edenton, N. C.

William Smith Papers.

Mr. Joe Seawell, Clerk of the Supreme Court, turned over to the Commission a collection, numbering ninety-one manuscripts of the Papers of William Smith of Granville County, which he had found among the records of the Supreme Court, where they had been filed in an equity case. They are mostly business letters of the decade 1790-1800.

JOURNAL OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION.

Governor Craig has placed in custody of the Commission the original journal of the Commission on Amendments to the Constitution appointed under authority of Resolution No. 17 of the General Assembly of 1913.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

From various sources we have received 205 letters which have been filed among the "Miscellaneous Papers" of the Commission. Among the donors are: Hon. Josephus Daniels, Chief Justice Walter Clark, Mr. Joe Seawell, Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, Dr. Kemp P. Battle, and Dr. Yates Snowden.

In addition to these the following have been secured:

Richard Hugg King and his Times: Reminiscences of Rev. Eli Caruthers of Orange Presbytery. Prepared by order of the Presbytery.

This is an original manuscript of 230 pages, in Dr. Caruthers' handwriting. Richard Hugg King was a noted camp-meeting preacher of North Carolina, who flourished during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Dr. Caruthers' biography throws interesting light on the social and religious conditions of that period.

Manuscript report of the sick and wounded Confederate soldiers in General Hospital No. 8, at Raleigh, 1864.

Donated by Dr. Herbert Drewry of Norfolk, Va.

Muster Roll of Co. K, Forty-fifth Regiment North Carolina Troops, from January 1, 1865, to February 28, 1865.

This document was found on the battlefield in front of Petersburg, Va., near Fort Mahone, April 3, 1865, by W. H. Richmond of Manchester, N. H., and presented by Mr. Richmond to the Historical Commission July 27, 1914.

Plan for the Settlement of 552,500 Acres of Land in the District of Morgan, county of Wilkes, in the State of North Carolina, North America, between 36 and 37 Degrees North Latitude, and 80 and 82 Degrees West Longitude. Printed document. London, England. N. D.

Presented by Mr. R. A. Derby, Jackson Springs, N. C.

Certificate of grant of 150 acres of land in Dobbs County, September 23, 1785. Signed by Richard Caswell. Great Seal of North Carolina attached.

Presented by G. H. Dortch of Raleigh, N. C.

Photostats.

By the photostatic process of reproducing manuscripts we have received:

From the Phillips Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, copies of thirty-one manuscripts bearing on the colonial history of North Carolina.

From Dr. Kemp P. Battle a copy of an autograph letter of D. L. Swain to Peter Force, Chapel Hill, N. C., Nov. 23, 1855.

From Mr. John Wood, copies of fifty-seven manuscripts relating to the military and naval affairs of the Revolution, made from the originals in his library at "Hayes."

From Miss Lida T. Rodman, copies of twenty-two manuscripts relating to the military and naval affairs of the Revolution, made from the originals in her library at Washington, N. C.

From the collection of Mrs. Oscar Clare, through Dr. Archibald Henderson, copies of forty-four manuscripts relating to the Transylvania Colony.

From the collection of Prof. E. V. Howell, University of North Carolina, copies of twenty-four letters.

Maps.

To our collection of maps we have added the following:

Parts of North Carolina and South Carolina. Colored. London, 1833.

North Carolina and South Carolina. Tinted. Edinburgh, 1856.

North Carolina. Colton, 1871.

Pamphlets.

The Commission makes no effort to collect books as to do so would but duplicate the work of the State Library. This policy, however, does not forbid our collecting such printed documents as may properly be classed among original or secondary sources, and to this collection we have added the following:

Badger, George E[dmund]. Speech in the United States Senate on the Nebraska Bill. February 16, 1854. 14 pp. Donated by Mr. A. B. Andrews, Jr.

Badger, [George Edmund]. Speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, May 11, 1854, in support of the constitutionality of the bill for the benefit of the indigent insane and in vindication of the rights of the old States in the public lands. 24 pp.

Badger, [George Edmund]. Speech on the reclamation of fugitive slaves, delivered in the Senate of the United States, August 20, 1850. 8 pp.

Clingman, T[homas] L[anier]. To the Editors of the *Republic*. House of Representatives, [Washington, D. C.] March 22, 4 pp.

Coles, Thomas, and Price, Jonathan. To the Honorable Albert Gallatin, Esq., Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. Report of the Commissioners for surveying the coast of North Carolina. 8 pp.

Gilmer, John A. Speech on the location of a national foundry in Deep River Valley and the mineral and manufacturing resources of North Carolina. Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 21, 1859. 7 pp.

Haywood, W[illiam] H[enry] Jr., Graham, W[illia]m A[lexander], Saunders, R[omulus] M[itchell], Gales, Weston R[aleigh], Hargrove, W[illia]m R. Proceedings of a meeting of members of the Legislature held in Raleigh, January 11, 1834, with an address to the people of North Carolina on the subject of amending the Constitution of the State. January 1834. 20 pp.

Manly, Charles. [Governor of North Carolina]. Message to the Legislature of North Carolina at the session of 1850-51. Executive Department of N[orth] C[arolina], Raleigh, November 18, 1850. 33 pp.

Paton, David. Memorial to the Governor of North Carolina relative to the building of the State Capitol. 8 pp.

Polk, Colonel Ezekiel of Mecklenburg, N. C. Vindication of the Revolutionary character and services of the late. Published and prepared by order of the Tenn[essee] State Central Committee. 16 pp.

NORTH CAROLINA HALL OF HISTORY.
West Hall.

Shepard, William B[iddle]. Remarks in the Senate [of North Carolina], Tuesday, January 16, 1849, on the Resolution of the House of Commons on the subject of slavery. 8 pp.

Simpson, Mrs. Anne K., the trial of, charged with the murder of her husband, Alexander C. Simpson, by poisoning with arsenic, before his Honor, Judge William H. Battle, at Fayetteville, November 14-15, 1850. Reported by William H. Haigh. 200 pp.

Stanly, Ed[ward], Williams, Lewis, DeBerry, Ed[mund], Rayner, K[enneth]. To the people of North Carolina. Washington City, June, 1840. 7 pp.

NEWSPAPERS.

To our collection of newspapers we have added the following:

Daily Constitution, Raleigh	1 copy.
Star and N. C. State Gazette, Raleigh	2 copies.

The Misses Pettigrew of Tyron, N. C., presented the following:

North Carolina Standard, Raleigh	6 copies.
Weekly Standard, Raleigh	2 copies.
Semi-Weekly Standard, Raleigh	9 copies.
State Journal, Raleigh	1 copy.
National Intelligencer, Washington, D. C.	46 copies.
North State Whig, Washington, N. C.	3 copies.
Semi-Weekly Register, Raleigh	2 copies.
Weekly Register, Raleigh	4 copies.
Daily North Carolinian, Wilmington	1 copy.
Daily Journal, Wilmington	3 copies.
Tri-Weekly Commercial Review, Wilmington	1 copy.
The Old North State, Elizabeth City	1 copy.
Southern Argus, Norfolk, Va.	1 copy.
Commercial Journal, Baltimore, Md.	1 copy.
Commercial Register, Mobile, Ala.	1 copy.

The most important accession received by the Commission is the file of bound volumes of the *Fayetteville Observer* from January 13, 1825, to June 30, 1864. Upon the appointment of Hon. E. J. Hale, United States Minister to Costa Rica, I wrote to him suggesting the advisability of his sending these

bound volumes of the *Observer* to the Historical Commission for safekeeping at least during his absence from the United States. Major Hale very promptly complied with the suggestion. In a note he gives the following interesting information relative to the papers:

"The files were complete when I went to England (1885) up to and inclusive of the issue of March 11, 1865, which latter was handed out to the soldiers of Johnston's Army as they passed by the *Observer* office, cheering. But the issues from January to March 11, 1865, were not bound, being in sheets waiting for completion of a volume. When I returned (1890), these sheets were missing. No doubt the custodian left in charge, in moving the files to the bank, failed to see that the unbound sheets were part of them. Now, however, I find that the last date in the volumes enumerated above is June 30, 1864. There may be another bound volume (July 1 to December 31, say 1864) of the semi-weekly in the debris left over from the fire in 1908 in the *Observer* office and the three fires of 1909 at my residence (Halebron Haymount). If so, that will be forwarded to Mr. Connor. The bound files, I am sure, contained issues up to January, 1865.

"Again: when I went to England, the eight volumes from 1817 to 1825 were with the rest of the files, according to my recollection. Finding them gone on my return, and thinking that possibly my recollection was at fault, I made publication of the circumstance, with the result that Mr. Hamilton McMillan, of Red Springs, wrote to me that my recollection was not at fault, for he had several times had occasion to refer to the volumes between 1817 and 1825, while I was abroad, and that they were then intact in the bank (which had kindly consented to house them in my absence).

The *Carolina Observer* was founded by Emanuel Bingham in 1817, and passed through six or seven hands until 1825, when E. J. Hale bought it from Col. John MacRae (father of the last Justice James C. MacRae), and, later, changed its name to *Fayetteville Observer*. So I say it was *founded* in 1817, but *established* by E. J. Hale in 1825. He (and for a period before the war, with his two sons) owned and edited the paper up to its destruction by General Sherman, in 1865—forty years.

"Upon Sherman's approach (1865) these files were hurried away to Halebron, in Chatham County, the home of Col. Thomas Hill, father-in-law of E. J. Hale (2d.), the junior member of the firm of E. J. Hale & Sons. This firm was composed of Edward Jones Hale, Peter Mallett Hale, and Edward Joseph Hale. Colonel Hill had the files buried in the garden at Halebron, whence they were taken back to Fayetteville after peace and stored in one of the bank buildings—the banks themselves having been put out of business for the time."

HALL OF HISTORY.

I beg to submit herewith the following report of the Collector for the Hall of History:

Raleigh, N. C., November 30, 1914.

Mr. R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary,*
North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

My Dear Sir:—I take pleasure in making a report to the Commission of my work in connection with the Hall of History for the two years ending this day. The period was marked by the most important event, namely the transfer of the thousands of objects from the old Hall of History in the State Museum to the new and permanent quarters, modern, convenient, and safe, an event second only to the beginning of the Hall of History, December 15, 1902.

During the year ending November 30, 1913, but little work could be done in the way of increasing the collection because the cases were full and it was thought best by me as director to wait until the new building was occupied. The old building is far from fireproof and there was always more or less fear as to the safety of the objects, yet they were gathered because it was felt that if this step was not taken they would be lost. A number of objects were stored in places of safety, to be ready for removal to the present quarters.

On the 18th of February of this year the removal of objects from the old Hall of History began. The installation of the latter was completed in the western one of the two halls March 17th, the work being pushed day and night. The installation in the eastern hall followed. Both halls were thrown open to the public March 14th.

The removal of the State Library also to the new building had the result of placing in my custody the scores of portraits it had held. Of these those in oil were placed in the eastern Hall of History, the crayons and photographs being placed at the Agricultural and Mechanical College. The portraits were given treatment by an expert and arranged according to periods, the same system having been followed as to the objects in the western hall. Since our removal we have added two portraits to our collection: David Paton, architect of the State Capitol, by Jaques Busbee, 1909, by transfer from the Governor's office; Ashley Horne, by M. L. H. Williams, 1914, presented by the U. D. C. of North Carolina.

After conference with the State authorities the Hall of History was opened to the public during the afternoon on Sundays, the first opening being March 22d, between three and five o'clock, information of this being given in the newspapers and by means of cards displayed on the front of the building. Though the opening day was marked by a snowfall there were sixty-five visitors, nine being from other states, among them being a number of workingmen who have no leisure on work days.

The preparation of the catalogue of the collection, the first ever made, began in March and was completed in July.

Arrangements were made for the giving of lectures to various organizations and to the history classes of the various colleges and schools in the afternoon or evening, and these were well attended.

In June the annual reunion of North Carolina Confederate Veterans, the most successful ever held, brought great numbers of visitors to the Hall of History, where the Confederate section was given closest attention. In August the annual convention of the North Carolina Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy was marked by a reception given at the Hall of History, the entire building being thrown open. The affair was informal, refreshments were served, music was provided and the collections were given careful study and received much praise.

The completion of the collection of Confederate flags borne by North Carolina troops was made a special point and a letter was addressed to the Governor and Adjutant General of every other State in order to locate any captured flags. As a result the flags of eight regiments were located, three in New York, three in Michigan, one in New Jersey, and one in Maine. The latter, that of the Seventh Regiment, was returned in August. The State of New Jersey will in January return the flag of the Second Regiment. The Governors of New York and Michigan have promised to make every effort to bring about the return of the flags held by those States.

Efforts to secure Confederate regimental flags held by private individuals in North Carolina were also pressed and with success. The flag of the Third Regiment was lent by the De Rosset family, of Wilmington, that of the Seventeenth by Mr. Wilson G. Lamb, of Williamston, that of the Fifty-first by Maj. A. A. McKethan, of Fayetteville. Seven other flags have been located and it is expected that nearly all of these will be secured by the end of the current year.

Upon suggestion the Grand Lodge of Masons of North Carolina placed the only Revolutionary flag in the State in the Hall of History for safe-keeping, by consent of the gentlemen who had presented it to the Grand Lodge.

During the period between March 30 and this date there has been a steady gain in the acquisition of historical objects. The writer has made a number of personal journeys into various parts of the State and on each of these has had the good fortune to secure additional objects of value. Thus in August relics of Indian life were secured from Nags Head, near Roanoke Island, and in September other relics of the Indians, some of the most uique yet found, Spanish silver ornaments four centuries old, were obtained, from Murphy. From the collection in the State Museum transfers have been made of many other objects illustrative of Indian life, and this part of the collection is to be extensively developed.

During the period covered by this report 612 exhibits have been added to the Hall of History.

The number of visitors increases steadily and all are pleased by the quality and arrangement of the collection, which is already so large that more room is imperatively needed for flags, uniforms, and other objects.

The plaster replica of the marble statue of Washington, the work of Canova, was transferred from its poor location in a corridor of the Capitol to the eastern Hall of History, given careful treatment, and placed upon a proper base and in a perfect light. It has now become not only an object of attraction, but its safety is assured. In the Capitol it had begun to suffer from utter carelessness and vandalism.

The marble bust of John C. Calhoun, executed by Hiram Powers, one of the greatest American sculptors, was also removed from the Capitol, where it had for years stood upon a mantel, and will be properly shown, after cleaning, upon a pedestal.

Respectfully submitted, Fred A. Olds,
Collector for the Hall of History.

PUBLICATIONS.

Since my last report the Commission has issued the following publications:

Bulletin No. 12.

Bulletin No. 12 is the "Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association," which Association met in Raleigh, December 3-4, 1912. This Bulletin also contains the proceedings and addresses in connection with the unveiling and presentation to the State of the bust of Gov. John Motley Morehead, December 4, 1912. Paper. 128 pages. That portion containing the addresses on Governor Morehead has also been bound separately in cloth. 16 pages.

Bulletin No. 13.

Bulletin No. 13 is the Fourth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, for the two years from December 1, 1910, to November 30, 1912. Paper, 16 pages.

Bulletin No. 14.

Bulletin No. 14 is a history of "The North Carolina State Flag," by W. R. Edmonds. Paper. 15 pages. Frontispiece: Flag of North Carolina in colors.

BULLETIN No. 15.

Bulletin No. 15 is the "Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina," at Raleigh, November 20-21, 1913. Paper. 131 pages.

BULLETIN No. 16.

Bulletin No. 16 contains the "Addresses at the Unveiling of the Memorial to the North Carolina Women of the Confederacy, at Raleigh, June 10, 1914, presented to the State by Ashley Horne." Paper. 27 pages.

NORTH CAROLINA MANUAL, 1913.

A Manual of North Carolina for the use of the General Assembly of 1913. Compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. Cloth. 1,053 pages.

This manual contains an account of the powers and duties of each of the departments, commissions, boards, and institutions of the State, the State Constitution, election returns, a complete register of all colonial and State officials from 1584 to the present time, including members of provincial congresses, constitutional conventions, Federal and Confederate Congresses, and general assemblies, with their dates of services, and much other historical and statistical information about the State.

GUIDE TO THE HALL OF HISTORY.

Guide to the Hall of History of North Carolina, by Fred A. Olds, Collector for the Hall of History, contains a brief history of the Hall of History together with a list of all the relics, manuscripts, portraits, etc., on exhibition, with a guide to their location. Paper. 97 pages.

PUBLICATIONS IN PREPARATION.

Papers of Archibald D. Murphey. Edited by W. Henry Hoyt. 2 volumes. In press.

Private Schools of North Carolina, 1790-1840: A Documentary History. Edited by Charles L. Coon. 1 volume. In press.

Papers of Thomas Ruffin. This collection, consisting of 1,625 letters and other papers, is being edited for publication by the Commission by J. G. deR. Hamilton.

Bibliography of North Carolina, by Stephen B. Weeks. At the last meeting of the Commission the Secretary was instructed to make a contract with Stephen B. Weeks for the completion and publication by the Commission of his North Carolina Bibliography. Dr. Weeks reports that work is progressing on it as rapidly as possible.

Papers of Willie P. Mangum. Edited by Stephen B. Weeks. At the last meeting of the Commission the Secretary was instructed to make a contract with Dr. Weeks for the editing by him and publication by the Commission of the Willie P. Mangum papers in his possession. I beg leave to report that the contract has been made and Dr. Weeks has begun his work.

SERVICES RENDERED BY THE COMMISSION.

Use of Collections.

Because of the incompleteness of our collections it has not been thought advisable yet to make any special efforts to encourage their use by students of our history. Nevertheless students are beginning to find their way here and are coming to realize more and more the extent and value of these collections for historical purposes. We have been able to serve a number of such students in this way during the past two years.

Others have been served through correspondence. Investigations have been made, inquiries answered, and material furnished to a large number of students and investigators.

When the arrangement of our collections begins to approach completeness we shall have prepared and published descriptive catalogues which will be of service to students in their investigations.

Military and Naval Records of the Revolution.

During the past year the Commission has been able to render valuable service to the United States War and Navy Departments in their work of collecting for future publication the military and naval records of the War of the Revolution. This work has been under the direction of Mr. Marshall DeLancey

Haywood, who has been employed by the Federal Government to supervise the selection and copying of the records. The Commission placed its collections at the service of the Government, provided quarters for Mr. Haywood, and afforded him every facility in its power for his work. In June, 1914, a photostat for reproducing documents by photographic process was installed by the War and Navy departments in the rooms of the Historical Commission, and, with the exception of a brief interval when it was taken to Edenton, remained there until September. By this process prints of 3,400 documents were made, which will ultimately be published by the National Government.

GETTYSBURG BATTLEGROUND COMMISSION.

The General Assembly of 1913 passed a resolution constituting the members of the North Carolina Historical Commission, together with five Confederate veterans to be appointed by the Governor, a Commission to visit the battlefield of Gettysburg and mark the lines of battle occupied by the North Carolina troops in the three days' contest there July 1-3, 1863. The Confederate veterans selected by the Governor were W. A. Montgomery of Wake; W. F. Utley of Wake; D. C. Waddell of Guilford; J. A. Long of Person; and Cyrus B. Watson of Forsyth. The Commission visited the battleground of Gettysburg in June and July, 1913, and made an inspection of the field with a view to placing the markers. Its work has not yet been completed.

In this connection I beg leave to call your attention to Resolution No. 9, Public Laws of North Carolina, Extra Session of 1913, which is as follows:

"WHEREAS, The troops from North Carolina who participated in the battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 2, and 3, 1863, composed a large part of the flower of the Confederate army, and in the fateful charge of the last day her dead were found further to the front than those from any other State, and her losses equaled if not exceeded those from any other Southern State, and no suitable monument has ever been erected to commemorate their valor and daring: therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

"SECTION 1. That the North Carolina Historical Commission be and it is hereby authorized and directed to procure a design for a

suitable monument to be erected, by and with the consent of the State of Pennsylvania and the Congress of the United States, on the battlefield of Gettysburg, to commemorate the gallantry and daring of the North Carolina troops who participated in the great battle of July 1, 2, and 3, 1863, and that the said Historical Commission shall submit to the session of the General Assembly of 1915 said design and an estimate of the cost of the execution and erection of said monument.

"Ratified this the 13th day of October, A. D. 1913."

Steps have been taken to comply with this resolution, and the results will be reported to the forthcoming General Assembly as required.

Ruffin Statue and Gaston Bust.

The Commission at its last session appropriated the sum of $400 or so much thereof as might be necessary, toward the fund for securing the erection of a statue of the late Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin. The amount actually contributed by the Commission was $327.56. The statue was executed by F. H. Packer of New York and will be set up in the entrance to the State Administration Building and presented to the State in January, 1915.

The Commission also made a small subscription to the fund for securing the bust of Judge William Gaston which was presented to the State on November 24th.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

I beg leave to offer for your consideration the following recommendations:

Checklist of North Carolina Newspapers.

One of the most valuable services the Commission could render to the cause of history in North Carolina would be to have prepared and published a checklist of the North Carolina newspapers in the State Library, the University Library and in the Trinity College Library; and I recommend that you authorize the Secretary to make arrangements for having this work done.

County Archives.

The county archives of North Carolina contain an immense amount of exceedingly valuable material. At present this ma-

terial is almost useless to students because it is, as a rule, unknown and inaccessible. No greater service, I believe, to the history of the State could be rendered than for the Historical Commission to publish reports on these archives in order to show what material they contain, the methods employed in the various counties to preserve it, and to make it accessible and to suggest to county officials better methods for caring for their records. In this connection I desire to call your attention to the following resolution adopted at the recent largely attended session of the State Literary and Historical Association:

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of the Association to memorialize the General Assembly at its coming session to make an annual appropriation of not less than $2,500 to be expended under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Commission, in the work of advising with municipal and county officials relative to the proper care, arrangement and preservation of the public archives and records in their charge, and of making such records and archives accessible for historical purposes."

ANNUAL MEETING.

I recommend that a definite date be fixed for the regular annual meeting of the Commission in the future.

SUMMARY.

Summarizing the foregoing report we find the following results of our work for the period covered by it:

1. To the collections of historical manuscripts have been added 118 typewritten copies, 179 photostat prints, and 3,129 originals, a total of 3,426.

2. There have been repaired, reinforced, mounted and bound four volumes, containing 561 manuscripts, and 2,748 manuscripts have been prepared for binding.

3. Three important maps have been secured.

4. To our collection of printed sources have been added 13 valuable pamphlets, 73 miscellaneous unbound newspapers, and 31 bound volumes of the *Fayetteville Observer*.

5. The Commission acquired the following oil portraits; by gift from the United Daughters of the Confederacy, one; by transfer from the Governor's office, one; by transfer from the State Library, 37—a total of 39.

6. By transfer from the State Museum the Commission acquired the Hall of History, containing by a conservative estimate, 11,400 exhibits, to which the Commission has added about 612, making a total of 12,012 now on exhibition.

7. The War and Navy departments of the United States secured from our collection prints of 3,400 military and naval records of the War of the Revolution.

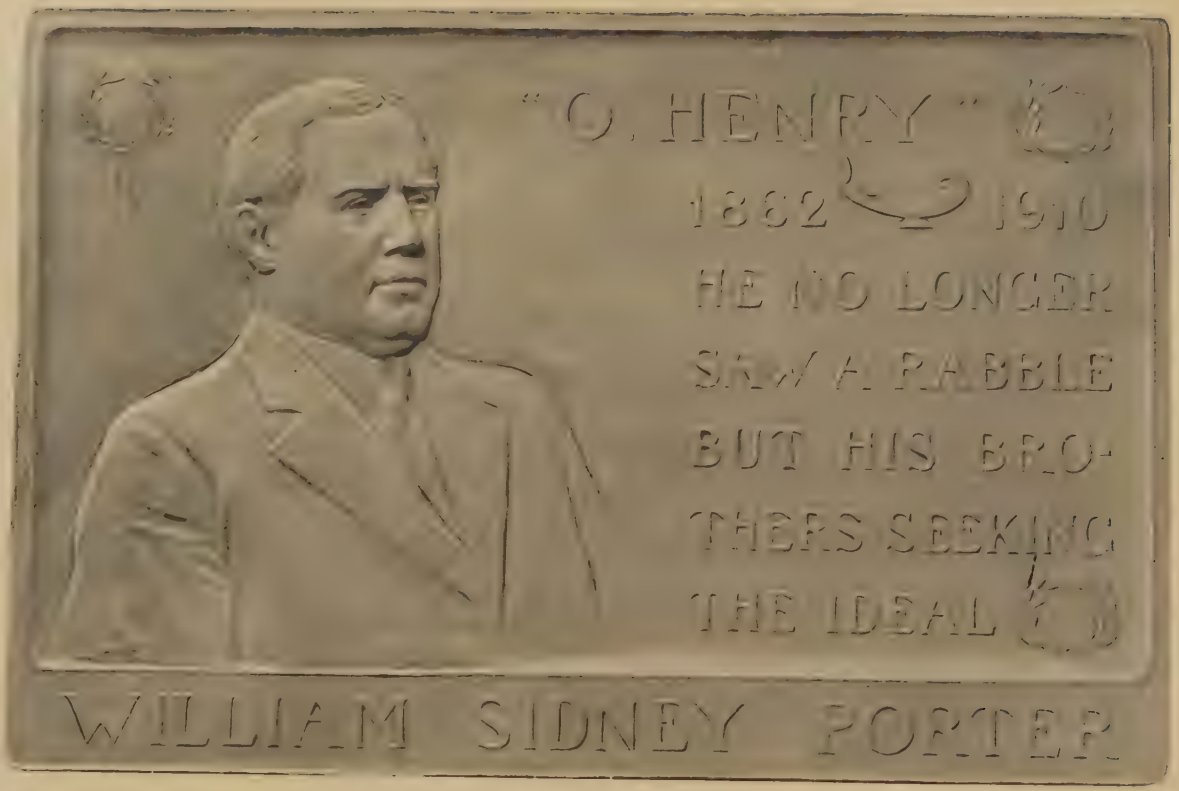
8. The Commission published five bulletins, a Guide to the Hall of History and the North Carolina Manual of 1913; and made contracts for the publication of the papers of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin, the papers of Senator Willie P. Mangum, and an extensive bibliography of North Carolina.

9. Through the assistance of the Commission the State acquired a marble bust of Judge William Gaston and a bronze statue of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin.

Respectfully submitted,

R. D. W. Connor,

December 23, 1914. *Secretary.*


"O. HENRY"
1862 1910
HE NO LONGER
SAW A RABBLE
BUT HIS BRO-
THERS SEEKING
THE IDEAL
WILLIAM SIDNEY PORTER

Bulletin no. 18

PROCEEDINGS *and* ADDRESSES

OF THE

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
December 1-2, 1914

Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR
Secretary

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
STATE PRINTERS
1915

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. Peele, Raleigh.
Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson.
M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.
D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1914.

President ..... Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-President..... Miss Mary Shannon Smith, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President..... Frank Nash, Hillsboro.
Third Vice-President..... W. B. McKoy, Wilmington.
Secretary-Treasurer ..... R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

W. K. Boyd, Durham. Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
James F. Royster, Chapel Hill. Maurice G. Fulton, Davidson.
Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Raleigh.

1915.

President ..... Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
First Vice-President..... Miss Minnie W. Leatherman, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President..... J. G. de R. Hamilton, Chapel Hill.
Third Vice-President..... S. A. Ashe, Raleigh, N. C.
Secretary-Treasurer ..... R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

John F. Bruton, Wilson. Howard Rondthaler, Winston-Salem.
A. W. McLean, Lumberton. T. M. Pittman, Henderson.
J. L. Chambers, Charlotte.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized October, 1900.)

Fiscal Years.	*Presidents.*	*Secretaries.*	*Paid up Membership.*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex. J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex. J. Feild	139
1902-1903	W. L. Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	476
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor	435

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)

1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)

1907—Kemp Plummer Battle, for "History of the University of North Carolina." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)

1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe, for "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)

1909—Clarence Poe, for "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)

1910—R. D. W. Connor, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)

1911—Archibald Henderson, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works." (Presentation by Lee S. Overman.)

1912—Clarence Poe, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up." (Presentation by Walter H. Page.)

1913—Horace Kephart, for "Our Southern Highlanders." (Presentation by Maurice G. Fulton.)

1914—J. G. de R. Hamilton, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina." Presentation by W. K. Boyd.)

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE—SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall (to be erected soon).
5. Fire-proof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. The Patterson Memorial Cup.
9. Lecture Extension Work started in leading cities and towns.
10. A program of Library Extension Work begun.

CONTENTS

PAGE

MINUTES OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION 7

GENERAL SESSION:

The New North State. By Archibald Henderson 15

Some Argentine Ideas. By R. S. Naon 26

CONFERENCE ON COUNTY HISTORY:

Opening Remarks. By Archibald Henderson 39

A New Type of County History. By W. K. Boyd 41

The Vital Study of a County. By E. C. Branson 50

How Can We Secure the Writing of County Histories. By Miss Adelaide Fries 54

How Can We Secure the Writing of County Histories. By W. C. Jackson. 56

CONFERENCE ON NORTH CAROLINA LITERATURE:

The Projected History of North Carolina Literature. By Archibald Henderson 59

Henry Jerome Stockard. By J. Y. Joyner 61

The North Carolina Historians. By Stephen B. Weeks 71

North Carolina Fiction. By T. P. Harrison 87

Ballad-Literature in North Carolina. By Frank C. Brown 92

North Carolina Poetry. By Ernest L. Starr 103

North Carolina Oratory. By J. M. McConnell 111

North Carolina Bibliography for the Year. By Miss Minnie W. Leatherman 116

Presentation of Gifts to the State. By Archibald Henderson 122

O. HENRY EVENING:

O. Henry. By C. Alphonso Smith 126

Presentation of the O. Henry Memorial to the State. By Archibald Henderson 139

Acceptance of O. Henry Memorial. By Governor Locke Craig 141

MEMBERS, 1914-1915 142

MINUTES

Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH, DECEMBER 1-2, 1914

Tuesday, December 1—Afternoon Session.

The Fifteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Tuesday afternoon, December 1, 1914, at 3:30 o'clock, with President Henderson in the chair. President Henderson, after brief opening remarks, announced that the program for the afternoon session was a Conference on County History. The program as carried out was as follows:

1. Opening Address, by Archibald Henderson.
2. "A New Type of County History," by W. K. Boyd.
3. "The Vital Study of the County," by E. C. Branson.
4. "How to Secure the Writing of County Histories." Discussions by W. C. Jackson, Miss Adelaide Fries, and T. M. Pittman.

At the conclusion of these papers there was a general discussion in which several members participated.

Hon. Francis D. Winston thereupon offered the following resolutions which, after debate, were adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of this Association to memorialize the General Assembly at its coming session to make an annual appropriation of not less than $2,500, to be expended under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Commission in the work of advising with municipal and county officials relative to the proper care, arrangement and preservation of the public archives and records in their charge, and of making such records and archives accessible for historical purposes.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee take immediate steps to organize County Historical Societies, and that they enlist the coöperation of the Department of History in the University and in the colleges of the State in arranging a plan for securing a history of each county in North Carolina.

Tuesday, December 1—Evening Session.

The session was called to order by President Henderson at 8 o'clock in the auditorium of Meredith College. President Henderson delivered his inaugural address on "The New North State," at the conclusion of

which he presented Governor Craig, who introduced the next speaker as follows:

We have the honor this evening of having as our guest a statesman who, though young in years, has made a world-impression in history. He is a thinker and a scholar. He has done great things for his country, and I hope that he may continue to guide his great nation. He has not only rendered great service to his own people, but he has rendered great service to this nation which entitles him to our everlasting gratitude, for he was one of the arbitrators which kept this nation at peace with Mexico and at peace with all.

He comes from the greatest nation that has ever existed in South America. In this hemisphere there are two great republics, one on the Northern continent and one on the Southern. His nation stands among the foremost for peace, progress, and civilization.

The destiny of the United States and South America is indissoluble. The friendly relations between the republics of North and South America not only means the finest of commercial advantage, but it means the finest development that has come to the human race. The day is coming when the Latin people of the South and the Anglo-Saxon of the North will realize that their destiny is one to be worked out in brotherhood between these countries.

The distinguished statesman is the foremost representative of the Latin republics. I have the honor of presenting the Ambassador of the greatest Southern republic to the greatest Northern republic.

The topic of Ambassador Naon's address was "Some Argentine Ideas." At the conclusion of Dr. Naon's address he was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Literary and Historical Association.

President Henderson then presented Dr. W. K. Boyd who had been selected to announce the award of the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup for 1914, saying:

The feature which concludes our program this evening has come to be a classic event in the North Carolina year. This is the award of the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup, the beautifully conceived memorial in honor of her father, by Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem.

In past years, the award of this cup has called national attention to the works of literature being produced in the State of North Carolina. This cup is awarded each year to that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. I take pleasure in calling upon the distinguished historical student, Dr. William K. Boyd, of Trinity College, who, as representative of the Committee will make the announcement of the award.

In announcing the award Dr. Boyd said:

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen:

Every man of letters in North Carolina who makes local conditions the subject of his art is in a double sense a benefactor; first, for consecrating his gifts to immortalizing Tar Heeldom; second, for carrying out his work

under the adverse conditions referred to in the presidential address. Therefore the half dozen authors who have in the past year written books about North Carolina deserve the laurels of patriots, and on behalf of the Patterson Memorial Cup Committee and the Literary and Historical Association I wish to express our appreciation of their efforts.

Under the adverse conditions referred to by the President, it was indeed gracious of Mrs. Patterson to establish the Patterson Memorial Cup. Her patronage insures a careful examination of all books written by residents of the State and publicity to at least one of them.

Before announcing the award, may I relate a bit of academic history? Higher education in the United States has been revolutionized since the year 1870. Professional schools of arts and sciences have been organized and large universities have come into existence. About the year 1875 an old aristocratic college in the city of New York felt the new impulse. It established a chair of Political Science and Constitutional Law. To fill it was called a man who was Southern by birth, but who had received his collegiate education in New England and his professional training in Germany. He brought to this country those conceptions of the State and of sovereignty which characterize the political science of modern Germany. According to his theories sovereignty in the United States has always been in the people; the nation is older than the States; and manifestations of State rights sentiments in our history have been entirely without constitutional warrant. A more national interpretation of our history can hardly be conceived.

After a few years a young man from New Jersey applied at the college for a higher degree. His essay was on the Constitution during the Civil War and Reconstruction. In it he maintained that during the conflict the Constitution was not only violated by executive and legislative measures, but that it was superseded by war powers, and that during Reconstruction certain principles of constitutional law were also ignored. In other words, in establishing nationality, its written charter was violated. There was a memorable examination; the Dean found fault, and even demanded that a new edition of the essay be published with corrections. The man from New Jersey stood his ground, and won the day.

For there was academic liberty in the institution. A few years later that student was called to his *alma mater* to teach political theory, then history. As the institution grew into a great university he offered graduate instruction in the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. This was about the time that the sons of those who fought in the gray line and the blue were arriving at maturity. A number of them were attracted by the new field of historical investigation opened up. Two results followed. One was that the history department of Columbia became a clearing house for men of opposite persuasions, a twilight zone in which the most ultra-nationalists and the most unreconstructed rebels found a mutual human interest and sympathy. The other result has been the publication of a series of volumes on the Reconstruction Period in the South; a history of Reconstruction in Mississippi, one of Georgia during the period, and similar studies of Alabama, Texas, and Florida. These are not essays but stout volumes. They make the largest contribution to any one period of Southern history.

Thirteen years ago there joined the Columbia group a graduate of the University of the South, with tar on his heels. After the first year he began the

investigation of his native State during the Reconstruction period. For twelve years he has given his best efforts to the task and last summer he published his results entitled, "Reconstruction in North Carolina." His work is notable for the following qualities:

In point of style it is equaled in our historical literature only by the work of Dr. Hawks, who wrote prior to the war. In selection and organization of material it is modern in tone, combining the topical and the chronological methods. It is also a contribution to national as well as State history, for it treats of constitutional, economic, and political movements that were not confined to North Carolina. His volume also belongs to a notable series, the "Columbia University Studies in Economics, History, and Public Law."

And now, as the author is too Roman in his modesty to appear on this stage, I announce that the Patterson Cup this year is awarded to Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton for his excellent book, "Reconstruction in North Carolina."

The President then declared the meeting adjourned.

Following the regular session the members of the Association and their guests were tendered a reception in the parlors of Meredith College, by the Woman's Club of Raleigh.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2—MORNING SESSION.

The session was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives by President Henderson, at ten o'clock. The President announced that the subject of the program for this session was "North Carolina Literature." Papers were read on the following subjects:

1. "Projected History of North Carolina Literature," by Archibald Henderson.
2. "Henry Jerome Stockard; An Appreciation," by J. Y. Joyner.
3. "North Carolina Historical Writings," by Stephen B. Weeks.
4. "North Carolina Fiction," by Thomas P. Harrison.
5. "North Carolina Ballads," by Frank C. Brown.
6. "North Carolina Poetry," by Ernest Starr.

Dr. Maurice G. Fulton announced that Dr. J. M. McConnell, who had prepared a paper on "North Carolina Oratory," had been unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting, and moved that Dr. McConnell's paper be published in the Proceedings. The motion was carried.

President Henderson then presented several gifts to the Association. His address in making these presentations has been printed elsewhere in the Proceedings.

At the conclusion of President Henderson's address the following resolutions were offered and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina extend, through the Secretary, grateful thanks in token of their

appreciation of the following gifts of literary memorials to the Hall of History:

1. To Mrs. Henry Jerome Stockard for the autograph poem, signed, by the late Henry Jerome Stockard, it being the poem dedicated to the Women of the Confederacy;

2. To Mr. W. L. McNeill, of Wagram, N. C., for the autograph poem, "Told On," of his brother, John Charles McNeill;

3. To Mrs. William Sidney Porter, for the portrait of William Sidney Porter.

4. To Mr. Arthur W. Page, Editor of *The World's Work*, for some sheets of the original manuscript of one of O. Henry's stories.

5. To Miss Van Vleck, of Winston-Salem, for a letter, and to Miss Marshall for an autograph poem, of John Henry Boner.

6. To the Misses Margaret J. and Martha A. Steele, of Carlisle, for the letters of Elizabeth Maxwell Steele.

Whereas, The North Carolina Library Commission has rendered great service to the schools and rural population of the State by the operation of traveling, debate and other package libraries, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association commend the work of the Library Commission and aid it through its Legislative Committee in securing a larger appropriation for the extension of its service along these lines.

Whereas, The American Peace Conference agreed at its session in Richmond last December that each State should establish some memorial to mark the Century of Peace among the English-speaking peoples under the Treaty of Ghent,

And, Whereas, Sir Walter Raleigh was selected as the most suitable character for this purpose in North Carolina,

Therefore, be it resolved by this Association, That we heartily commend Senator Lee S. Overman for his timely introduction of a bill into the United States Senate, for an appropriation for a statue of Sir Walter Raleigh to be erected in this city; and we will gratefully appreciate his efforts to secure its passage during the coming session of Congress, so that we can, at least, lay the corner-stone in 1915.

And Resolved, That our senior Senator and all Congressmen from North Carolina are hereby requested and urged to support this measure.

Resolved, That this Association heartily endorse Senate Bill No. 2545, introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Overman, it being a bill for the execution of a suitable and creditable painting, depicting the baptism of Virginia Dare, the first known celebration of a Protestant Christian sacrament on American soil; and urge our Senators and Representatives in Congress to support the same.

Whereas, The members of this Association have heard with sincerest sorrow of the illness at his home in Wilson of Hon. F. A. Woodard, who, during the fifteen years of the history of the Literary and Historical Association, has never before been absent from its annual session, and has at all times displayed an earnest, unselfish and wise interest in its work, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to express to Mr. Woodard our regret at his absence, our sympathy in his illness, and our sincere hopes for the speedy recovery of his health.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to extend to the Trustees and Faculty of Meredith College the thanks and appreciation of the State Literary and Historical Association for the use of the auditorium of Meredith College for its evening sessions; and to express to the Woman's Club of Raleigh its appreciation of their courtesy in tendering a reception to its members and guests.

The following reports of the Guilford County Historical Society and of the Randolph Historical Society were then presented to the Association by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt:

GUILFORD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Guilford County Historical Association has had no meeting again this year.

Two papers have been prepared and we have received some valuable old letters, also a most interesting banner which was presented to the Greensboro Guards by the ladies of the town in 1839, the presentation being recorded in the *Patriot* of that day.

The Greensboro Public Library, in which the collection of the society is kept, has been most fortunate this year in a gift of four portraits, all eminent citizens of Guilford whose descendants have made this very generous donation to the home of their fathers: Colonel Julius A. Gray, Governor John M. Morehead, Governor Jonathan Worth, and Governor A. M. Scales.

The homes of Governor Morehead and Governor Scales are still standing in Greensboro. Governor Worth's early life was all spent in Guilford, though he was elected Governor from Randolph, where he settled in 1824. These four portraits were unveiled in the library with appropriate exercises on the evening of June 6, 1914.

The banner of 1839 was displayed at the time by the Guilford Historical Association with two other political Greensboro banners of 1840, making an exhibit of especial interest, since all three were used in the memorable campaign of Morehead and Harrison in 1840. The society contemplates a revival of its work during the next year.

RANDOLPH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On the 30th of May, 1914, a dozen or more people met in the County Superintendent's office, and organized a society to be known as The Randolph County Historical Society. It elected for its President, Mrs. Numa A. Thornburg, and Hon. W. C. Hammer, Vice-President; T. F. Bulla, Secretary; Miss Linnie Shamburger, Historian, and Mrs. S. L. Hayworth, Treasurer. It was decided at this meeting to meet annually, and discuss historical events relative to Randolph County. A great deal of interest was manifested in this meeting, and the outlook is good for interesting discussions in the future. It was also decided to collect old books, and manuscripts of any nature, and deposit them in a room in the courthouse known as the Historical Room.

So far, we have a membership of over thirty-five, and by strong effort it can be increased considerably. The membership fee is fifty cents.

At the meeting held last May, Dr. F. E. Asbury read a paper on the birthplace of Andrew Jackson. A paper was read prepared by Dr. S. E. Henley before he died, giving at some length the history of the old plank road, built three-quarters of a century ago.

It is our hope to build up a strong society in Randolph County, and we would be glad to coöperate with the State Historical Society. We would be glad to have any suggestions that will aid us in the future.

W. C. Hammer, editor of the *Asheboro Courier*, is collecting data for a future history of the county.

Wednesday, December 2—Evening Session.

The session was called to order at eight o'clock, in the auditorium of Meredith College, by the President who presented Miss Minnie W. Leatherman who read a report of North Carolina Bibliography for the year. At the conclusion of Miss Leatherman's paper President Henderson presented Dr. C. Alphonso Smith in the following words:

Ladies and Gentlemen: We are gathered here tonight to memorialize in deathless bronze a great literary genius of the New North State. In this hour of the sublimation of State pride, of the vast awakening of national consciousness in our commonwealth, an episode typical of this new era is the erection of a national memorial, executed by a great national sculptor, Lorado Taft, in honor of William Sidney Porter, endeared to all North Carolinians, world-renowned, under the *nom-de-guerre* of "O. Henry." In the literary and cultural history of North Carolina the occasion is epochal—for now, for the first time in all our history, have the people of our State united in the patriotic task of honoring, in enduring form at the capital of the commonwealth, native artistic and literary genius. I venture now to express the fervent hope that this event may prove the forerunner of many similar tributes to the artistic and literary genius of our people. May there come to us, as the years flee forward, a communal consciousness that culture must march hand in hand with agriculture, art with industry, literature with science in the perfected civilization of the future.

There is something finely and touchingly apposite in this ceremony here tonight. This memorial is to be accepted in behalf of the State by her chief executive, a citizen of the very town and county, Asheville and Buncombe, where William Sidney Porter sleeps forever in the cool, enfolding arms of death. And the genius of "O. Henry" is to be celebrated by a fellow native of the very town and county of his own nativity, Greensboro and Guilford.

I rejoice in the opportunity to present to you a great son of North Carolina, distinguished man of letters,—a scholar who as academic ambassador has borne the message of American culture to the great German empire, the official biographer of O. Henry, the lifelong friend of William Sidney Porter—Charles Alphonso Smith.

At the conclusion of Dr. Smith's address the President called for the report of the Nominating Committee, who reported the following nominations for 1914-15:

President ..... Clarence Poe
First Vice-president ..... Miss Minnie W. Leatherman
Second Vice-president ..... J. G. de R. Hamilton
Third Vice-president ..... S. A. Ashe
Secretary-treasurer ..... R. D. W. Connor

The nominations were confirmed. The session then adjourned to the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission, where the exercises in connection with the presentation of the "O. Henry Memorial" were held. The Memorial was presented to the State, in behalf of the State Literary and Historical Association, by President Henderson. At the conclusion of his speech the tablet was unveiled by Miss Margaret Porter, after which it was accepted, in behalf of the State, by Governor Locke Craig.

The President then announced that the session of the Literary and Historical Association for 1914 was adjourned sine die.

After the adjournment the members of the Association attended a reception in the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

GENERAL SESSION

The New North State

By Archibald Henderson, President of the State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, on the Evening of December 1, 1914.

In his notorious "History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina," which was run in the year 1728, the witty William Byrd of Westover hazarded the ironical query: "Considering how fortune delights in bringing great things out of small, who knows but Carolina may, one time or another, come to be the seat of some great empire?" As I glance back over the two tumultuous centuries which have elapsed since Byrd ventured that ironical query, and think of the long, long way we have traveled since that primitive, barren time, I cannot but conclude that William Byrd, all unwittingly, was something more than "the idle singer of an empty day." That "great empire," of which he so ironically spoke—has indeed found its seat in this ancient commonwealth of Carolina. It is in the new time that Carolina has come to be the seat of a great empire of democracy—a democracy of culture and of the human spirit.

In the strange, sad epic of the silent South, North Carolina can justly claim the authority that springs from the motherhood of American liberty. At the very moment when Byrd was running that dividing line betwixt North Carolina and Virginia, the borderers were eager to be included within the bounds of North Carolina, "as there they paid no tribute to God or Cæsar." Those epic ships of Raleigh, sailing westward over unknown seas and beaching at last their keels upon the golden sands of Roanoke, bore in their bosoms a breed of men fired with the divine spark which in that England of the spacious days of Elizabeth flamed up in rugged prose and in soaring, immortal verse. The breed of men who settled here bore in their right hand a genius for civilization and an indomitable pride of race; and in their left hand an inflexible steadfastness and a common sense as firm as adamant. In the struggle for existence which they were compelled to wage, the taming of nature, the conquest of a savage foe, there was bred in them a mighty resourcefulness and the grim hardihood of self-reliance. Our legacy from a century of pioneers is a passion for successful self-expression, for efficiency, and for creative conquest. How shorn of a great measure of distinction and greatness would be this American nation, in its pioneer days and crude beginnings, if bereft of the pioneering genius of

Daniel Boone, the love of liberty of the eloquent William Hooper, the prophetic insight of that herald of culture, William R. Davie, the legal wisdom of James Iredell, the granite conservatism of Nathaniel Macon, the flaming patriotism of Andrew Jackson, the new Americanism of Thomas Hart Benton. How impoverished would be the early annals of our country if there were blotted out the memory of Moore's Creek Bridge, of Guilford Court House, of Kings Mountain; of the resistance to the Stamp Act at Wilmington, the patriotism of Mecklenburg, the statesmanship at Halifax, the definitive salvation of the vast trans-Alleghany region by the pioneers of Transylvania. Out of North Carolina, the fountain source of American liberty, welled up the streams of creative contribution which have helped to make this nation great—the inflexible spirit which knows no compromise, the passionate belief in liberty and democracy, and the unchanging faith in the worth and dignity of average humanity.

Midway in her career—a career memorable for national statesmanship, continental thinking and purity of thought in public service—a dark disaster fell upon the South. Following that tragic national crisis, when the South in the dimness of anguish beheld the loss of wealth, the abolition of property, the violation of the very sanctities of her civilization, this people sternly set themselves to the task of repairing those fallen fortunes and rebuilding that civilization upon broader and more universal outlines. In the era since the War between the States the South has achieved a reasonable prosperity distinguished by its universal diffusion, and has devoted its energies to the education of the common man to the tasks of leadership in all the avenues of an advancing civilization.

It was in the earlier grim stages of that era of civilization-rebuilding—the era of the slow emergence of the average man from the pressure of economic necessity and the blight of arrested cultural development—that the South temporarily relaxed her hold upon the reins of national government. Only a decade ago the late Charles B. Aycock—though belying the statement in his own brilliant, tragic career—regretfully acknowledged that at that moment the people of the South "had less effect upon the thought and action of the nation than at any period of our history." At that time it was almost literally true that Southern men wielded but slight influence in the final settlement of the graver problems of our national destiny. The thinking of the South was not an appreciable factor in the councils of the nation. The old aristocracy, with its transcendant leadership of individualism, had passed forever from the national stage; and the new democracy, fumbling with the complex tools of a newer communism, had not yet wrought out completely the figures of national leadership.

The election of Woodrow Wilson and the quindecennial anniversary of Gettysburg marked the transit of an era. "A complete change," as Mr. George Harvey recently said, "involving after many years the restoration to power in large measure of this great section has been effected without causing so much as a ripple of apprehension. Surely it is a fact of mighty significance that the South resumes virtual control of the United States after barely fifty years, without evoking from the most rabid partisan so much as a suspicion of the patriotism or fidelity of any one of her statesmen." Surely it is a fact of almost miraculous fitness that, in this dramatic resumption by the South of the control of our national destinies, North Carolina should play a predominant role. It is with a sense of conscious elation, no less profound that it is subdued, that we, the citizens of this ancient commonwealth, reflect that American history can furnish no authentic parallel to the present epochal contribution of North Carolina to the life of the nation. In this great era of national responsibility and national peril the country breathes in safety with Josephus Daniels maintaining North Carolina's great traditions in the navy established by Branch, Badger, Graham, and Dobbin; with Houston setting new standards of business efficiency and practical statesmanship for national agriculture; with Simmons the leader of a Senate; Kitchin the destined floor-leader of the House; and native and adopted sons like Claxton and Holmes and Osborn effectively ministering to the educational, industrial, and financial needs of a nation. In this, North Carolina's hour—the reward of traditional fidelity to principle in public life, of enlarging social sympathy, and of invincible faith in democracy—there seems to operate a noble species of compensatory justice. The nation once more turns for guidance to the venerable commonwealth of North Carolina, and to the South, the ancient mother of national leadership.

Do you then realize that this, the age in which we live—*today*—heralds the golden age of North Carolina and the South? As we stand upon the threshold of this new era, there must come to all of us a sense of joyous elation, a leaping of the blood, that it is given to us to live at such a time and in such a country. While our sister republic of Mexico is racked with the dire dissensions of civil strife, which the unselfish devotions of this nation have watchfully and patiently sought to allay; while Europe is a cosmic holocaust of flame and blood and steel; while the commerce of belligerent nations is suffering from partial paralysis and the voice of famine utters to our heeding ears its grim and tragic petition—America stands firm for peace, for progress, for civilization, for humanity. Supreme engineering genius has cleft in twain giant Culebra and recalcitrant Panama; and today the lock gates at Gatun,

Pedro Miguel, and Miraflores hospitably fling wide the giant portals of the isthmus to the argosies of commerce, to the trade of the South, the nation, and the world. As President Wilson said in his memorable address at Mobile: "I wonder if you realize, I wonder if your imaginations have been filled with the significance of the tides of commerce. These great tides which have been running along parallels of latitude will now swing Southward athwart parallels of longitude, and that opening gate of the Isthmus of Panama will open to the world a commerce she has never known before—a commerce of intelligence, of thought and sympathy between North and South, and the Latin-American States which, to their disadvantage, have been cut off the main lines will now be *on* the main lines." The section sure to receive the greatest development as the result of the opening of the canal is the section east of the Rocky Mountains. The steamer which leaves the South Atlantic seaboard or a gulf port will steer a straight course from the Panama Canal to all of the countries on the west coast of South America. The saving in time, distance, and cost of transportation assures a vastly stimulated commerce and the interchange of all commodities between the South and the countries on the Western and Southern coasts of South America. A happy augury of the increasing reciprocal friendliness and expanding intercommunication of trade between North and South America is the presence of our honored guest of this evening, his Excellency, Romulo S. Naon, the Ambassador of the great republic of Argentina.

The South is America's present land of promise. Here upon our own soil will be undertaken the next supreme experiment in the life of the nation. This will be the scene of the next great act in the American drama of industrial expansion. The thought which gives me comfort, when I reflect upon the future of the South, is the consciousness that in this era of expanding wealth and a pervasive industrialism, the Southern people still tenaciously hold to those high yet simple realities which, throughout our history, have won the confidence and the faith of a nation.

In the hearts of all of us, I dare say, there is a deep, abiding affection and reverence for the virtues of a people who, throughout an historic past, have given to North Carolina the rich, mellow name of the Old North State. I sense those ancient virtues as a fragrant breath from some distant garden of old-fashioned flowers—a full-blooded parochialism redeemed by the abiding love of Christian faith, of family, of fireside; an inflexible integrity which put love of the truth and passion for the making of men above love of place and passion for the making of money; a rugged provincialism which had its roots firmly fixed in a love of naturalness and a scorn for all pretense; a granite

conservatism which cherished tradition and ever looked with stern disfavor upon the new and the empiric. This is the *Old* North State—always fighting for her rights while neglecting her interests; generous, reckless, romantic, improvident, unpretentious, chivalrous, brave. In our hearts is enshrined the figure of this most venerable, this most American of all the sisterhood of American commonwealths—the unpretentious, homespun, yet infinitely lovable Rip Van Winkle of the States.

Tonight, my friends, I give you the *New* North State. From out our past have come the old Roman virtues; into our future shall go the new American virtues of the new age—an enlarged communal consciousness; a deeper sense of local pride which expresses itself, not in voicing a glorification of the past, but in putting the shoulder hard to the wheel of civic progress; a strenuous common effort for the attainment of a new freedom, individual, political, and social—for *women* as well as for men; and a passionate, a relentless eagerness for the building of a new and higher civilization. We are meeting within the very week—simply eloquent in its title, *Community-service Week*—a type of the seven labors of the new Hercules of an aroused civic consciousness—the prophetic vision of that splendid type of the new social publicist, Edward K. Graham; aided by the practical wisdom of an agricultural sociologist, the popular leader, Clarence Poe; and happily legislated into permanence through the fiat of a progressive, forward-looking Governor, Locke Craig. Only a few weeks ago patriotic, liberty-loving women of North Carolina appropriately met in the precincts of Mecklenburg to write the political charter of a new declaration of independence. Out of the fullness of our new life here have gone to other nations the heralds of American culture. The first Southern scholar selected to go as Roosevelt Professor, as academic ambassador of culture, to the German nation, is the distinguished orator of tomorrow night, Charles Alphonso Smith; and when President Wilson needed a man big enough for the biggest diplomatic post in the country's gift, he called upon a great publisher and the editor of our most distinctively national magazine, Walter H. Page, who is now enjoying the confidence and winning the plaudits of all in his dexterous management of the innumerable complex issues evoked by the problems of a titanic European war. Last year we memorialized here North Carolina's first man of letters of large calibre, whose "Poe's Cottage at Fordham" is part of the immortal heritage of American and English song, John Henry Boner; tomorrow morning is to be memorialized the lamented Henry Jerome Stockard, loved citizen of Raleigh so recently passed away—a poet whose powerful pæans of praise of his section won for him the

enviable title of "The Voice of North Carolina." Tomorrow night we shall gather again in this hall to pay the perfect tribute of art and praise to North Carolina's first great figure in world-literature—after Poe and Hawthorne the greatest master of the short-story America has ever produced—William Sidney Porter, affectionately cherished in the hearts and memories of millions under the quaint pseudonym of "O. Henry." Indeed, when I reflect upon the richness, variety and texture of the gifts of this New North State to America and to the world, I am driven to paraphrase the impressive words of Milton: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant State rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means."

I would not have you think that, in this chorus of praise, there is no room in my mind for reservations or for the acknowledgment of grave deficiencies in our artistic and literary culture. Indeed, the latest researches of science compel the belief that genius is not the result of the evolution of the masses of the people, but is a giant variation from the common level of our species.

Whether or not we acknowledge that genius is a spontaneous giant variation, a sporadic birth of energy not built up from the simple to the complex, certainly it must be recognized that art, as a factor of civilization, is an incomparable means of widening intellectual and spiritual horizons and promoting the cause of culture. It cannot be denied that the measure of a people's advance in the fine arts is the measure of their distance from the brutes. Art is not merely an auxiliary to civilization; art is almost synonymous with civilization itself. "Life without art," as Ruskin says, "is mere brutality." And no matter how remarkable have been the "spontaneous, giant variations from the common level of our species," it behooves us to take account of that precious "common level" which, in a true sense, is the measure of civilization in a democracy.

"What is the problem of culture?" asks the remarkable artist and astute philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche. His answer is unimpeachable: "To live and to work is the noblest strivings of one's nation and of humanity. Not only, therefore, to receive and to learn, but to live. To free one's age and people from wrong tendencies, to have one's ideal before one's eyes."

Much as I regret to admit it, long and patient observation compels me to acknowledge that here in the South of the past, here in North Caro-

lina, so far as art and literature are concerned, we have not lived and worked in the noblest strivings of one's nation and of humanity. In literature and art, for more than a century, we have received; even in a sense we have learned; but we have not lived. There be much truth in the witty definition that penury is the wages of the pen. And at the Annual Banquet in London of the Royal Literary Fund for the Relief of Necessitous Authors, Mr. Walter Page recently evoked a chorus of dissent to his statement: "From the viewpoint of mere barnyard gumption it is absurd for anybody to start to spend his life writing. Gambling is more likely to yield a steady income. It is an absurd career and a foolish foolhardy business. No man has a right to take it up who can avoid doing so." In making these observations, which must be taken with a liberal pinch of salt, Mr. Page was undoubtedly making a humorous personal confession. I may go even further and hazard the guess that he was thinking of North Carolina. It is a remarkable commentary upon our civilization that, so far as my knowledge goes, no man or woman in North Carolina, with the omission of journalists, has ever succeeded in earning, or even attempted to earn, a livelihood solely through the medium of the pen of the literary artist. Thus far in our history we have produced no distinguished painter, no great sculptor, no famous dramatist. In his study on "The Geographical Distribution of American Genius," published during the present year, Professor Scott Nearing does not even consider the State of North Carolina as a separate geographical unit; and concludes that, of persons of eminence in the United States today, "an overwhelming proportion seem to have been born in that section of the northeastern United States bounded by the Mason and Dixon line on the South, the Mississippi-Missouri River on the West." I never think of the literature of my native State that I do not recall the mournful threnody of that famous bard of our sister Carolina, J. Gordon Coogler:

> Alas for the South! Her books have grown fewer;
> She never was much given to literature.

I greatly fear that we do not care very much for reading and for books in North Carolina—not even for encyclopædias. I heard not long ago of an agent who asked a farmer in one of our rural districts if he didn't want to buy an encyclopædia, to which the conservative old farmer replied: "Naw, I don't take much stock in them new-fangled machines. In this neck of the woods we still stick to the old-fashioned horse and buggy."

Many of you have seen upon University Heights in New York City a noble structure of gleaming white marble, an enduring monument to

American genius, the Hall of Fame. Of the fifty-one tablets thus far placed upon its walls, only one bears the name of a native of North Carolina, the soldier-statesman, Andrew Jackson; and through the patronage of Willie and Allen Jones, and the guardianship of Joseph Hewes, North Carolina can lay a secondary claim to but one other name among those of foreign birth, the man whom Benjamin Franklin dubbed the "North Carolina midshipman," the greatest naval hero in our annals, John Paul Jones. A soldier-statesman and a sailor—but no man or woman of literary genius. In the Hall of Fame, the South is represented by soldiers, sailors, statesmen, jurists, scientists—but by only one distinctively literary genius—a man of English parentage who happened to be born in Boston, Massachusetts—Edgar Allan Poe.

For many years I have searched deeply into the causes for the comparative dearth of literary and artistic productivity in the South and for that genial Southern indifference to publication—the rock upon which literary fame is founded. Tonight I shall dispense with all explanation, apology, or excuse. The thrill of the new time tempts one less to pathetic retrospection than to buoyant prophecy. Nevertheless, I must voice my solemn conclusion that we cannot build up here a great civilization—a civilization as great in art and letters, in culture and taste, as it is great in material resources, statesmanlike ideals, and an aroused social consciousness—unless we *do live* and *work* in the noblest strivings of our nation and of humanity. Investigation has convinced me that North Carolina is lamentably backward, woefully deficient, in her activity and representation in the great national organizations making for the development of art, literature, drama, and all the multifarious influences for artistic culture in a democracy. I have studied the records of these national organizations for the present year in the effort to record, faithfully and justly, the part actually played by North Carolina in the life and work of national culture. I find that North Carolina is not represented at all in the National Academy of Arts and Letters, or in the much larger body of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; nor has she any official representation, in the form of elected officers, president or vice-presidents, in the American Historical Association, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Pageant Association, the Drama League of America, the American Folk-Lore Society, the Poetry Society of America, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Little if any attention need be paid to those of sectional bias who point out that no scholar or man of letters, so long as he remains in the South, ever wins large recognition in the national societies. Such a narrow charge, even though resting upon indisputable facts, might arise

from a complete misinterpretation of those facts; and in any case cannot serve as a valid excuse for our supineness and indifference. In science, pure and applied, North Carolina is nationally and internationally recognized. In this great branch of knowledge and research, no Southern State, I dare say, is her equal. But in the arts—literature, painting, sculpture, drama—North Carolina is not living and working today in the noblest strivings of the nation and of humanity.

As I have studied the cultural problems of our life *here* and sought to make of this association a more *constructive* instrument for ministering to our cultural wants, I have come to the conclusion that we have three vital and immediate needs. The program of the meetings of the Association for this year have been especially designed to meet these needs.

No people can form a just estimate of their history, or feel legitimate pride in it, until they know what that history really is. No comprehensive and complete history of North Carolina will ever be written until the contribution of the individual units, whose integrated life have largely constituted that history, are studied and bodied forth with completeness and detail. The county is the unit of the State; the history of the county must furnish the nucleus for the history of the State. North Carolina has exactly one hundred counties; it is a regrettable fact that histories, of reasonable adequacy, have been written of only about a dozen out of these hundred counties. I earnestly desire to identify this Association with the duty and the task of stimulating, inspiring and directing the writing of the industrial, social, economic, institutional histories of every single county in North Carolina. The accomplishment of this great work will prepare the way for the writing of the true and definitive history of North Carolina—the moving story of the life of a great people.

In like manner, I desire to see our people acquire a decent and adequate knowledge of the literary contributions of North Carolina for the past one hundred and twenty-five years. Nietzsche defines man as a something to be surpassed. And surely we can never rise above ourselves to ourselves in literature until we really feel and know what North Carolina has contributed in letters to the thought and consciousness of the American people. As the county is the unit of the State, so the State is the unit of the nation. In the noteworthy words of the South's greatest living novelist, James Lane Allen:

> There must in time and in the natural course of events come about a complete marshaling of the American commonwealths, especially of the older American commonwealths, attended each by its women and men of letters; with the final result that the entire pageant of our literary creativeness as

a people will thus be exhibited and reviewed within those barriers and divisions which from the beginning have constituted the peculiar genius of our civilization.

When this has been done, when the States have severally made their profoundly significant showing, when the evidence up to some century mark or half-century mark is all presented, then for the first time we, as a reading and thoughtful self-studying people, may be advanced to the position of beginning to understand what as a whole our cis-Atlantic branch of English literature really is.

It has been my great ambition to have this Association take account in an orderly way of the manifold sides of our State literature—history, poetry, fiction, oratory and folk-lore. Out of the fundamental principle of our government and institutions, the principle that the country is a nation of States, there comes the recognition that our literature, with all its humanity and its provinciality, is a national literature made up of the contributions of the individual States. This explanation of our American literature lies at the basis of our whole democratic civilization.

Lastly, I have one recommendation to make to this Association and to the people of North Carolina. It is to no Brahmin caste of scholars, to no occupants of the ivory tower of literary seclusion, that I would make this recommendation. I appeal to the communal consciousness of a people—a people who, individually and collectively, need to be inspired with a deep sense of historic tradition and the passion of a great faith in the destiny of our commonwealth. I desire to see spread before our people the entire pageant of our historic creativeness—as I have seen great pageants of the history of Oxford University and of the development of the martial power of the British Empire, now so terribly taxed upon the battlefields of Europe. Pageantry has been defined as poetry for the masses. We deeply need to see created in North Carolina, through the common efforts of our leading citizens, a fine art for the people. The elemental instinct for democratic art in our midst needs to be educated, developed, refined, by means of popular pageantry, into a mighty agency for civilization. I recommend that, during the coming year, historic episodes of State and national interest be presented by common effort in communities throughout the State. May I suggest, among others, for Wilmington the revolt against the Stamp Act; for Edenton, the Ladies' Tea Party; for New Bern, the Settlement of the Palatines; for Winston-Salem, the founding of the Academy; for Charlotte, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; for Salisbury, incidents from the careers of Daniel Boone and the pioneers; for Greensboro, the Battle of Guilford Court House. Next year, during Community-service Week, all of these episodes which

have been locally presented and perhaps others should then be linked together in a great State Historical Pageant here in Raleigh, the capital of the commonwealth—arranged in chronological order and designed to give a poetic and romantic picture of the historic evolution of the life of a people. Through this happy wedding of art and history may be brought home to our consciousness a profoundly moving realization of a glorious past and a quickening of our desires and hopes and labors for an even more glorious future.

In conclusion, let me remind you that we celebrate here tonight the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina. In an address delivered at the University of North Carolina exactly seventy-five years ago, the eloquent Hugh McQueen used these prophetic words: "No association of practical service to the interests of Literature and Science now exists in the State of North Carolina; no public-spirited Society, which might serve to hedge in by its active and beneficent care the sensitive and fragrant flowers of genius which spring up within our borders; which might serve to incite matured intelligence to active operation for the public good, which might stimulate youthful talent to essay the strength of its own pinions; which might preserve from oblivion many interesting facts and productions which are occasionally exhibited in the intercourse and operations of life, and which might disseminate extensively among the people, such literary documents and productions as would renovate the aspect of letters in this department of the Union, and convert our present dreary surface into a Literary Arcadia." Sixty years after these striking words were uttered, there was founded here this remarkable Association which has already fulfilled many of the functions so sedulously set forth by the cultured McQueen. If it has not, as yet, wholly succeeded in converting our present dreary surface into a *Literary Arcadia,* certainly it has helped to arouse the cultural consciousness of the State as it has never been aroused before in our history. And let us hope that through the stimulation and encouragement of the fine arts, the influence which emanates so effectively from this already distinguished Association, we may look in the future for the growth of a national and international spirit of culture which shall enable us the more effectively to *live* and *work* in the noblest strivings of the nation and of humanity.

Some Argentine Ideas

BY HON. R. S. NAON, ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

I know of no occasion where it would be more timely for me to speak on my country than on this, so kindly tendered to me by your association, and there is no subject I consider more appropriate for reaffirming our characteristic as a people of ideals than that which I have chosen for my address to you today: "Some Argentine Ideas."

It is not my aim to treat this subject from the standpoint of a doctrinarian in constitutional law, but rather to present to you as clearly and comprehensively as time and circumstances will permit, the sentiments, the principles and the ideas which underlie the formation and development of the political entity called "The Argentine Republic."

These sentiments, these principles and these ideas have continued to be maintained and have inspired and assured our progress through all the vicissitudes of our organic life. They were the permanent aspiration of the Argentine people until they became crystallized into the precepts of our wise constitution, into the system of legislation which rules the regular life of the Republic, into the characteristics of our social life and of our civic activity, and, finally, into the action of profound liberalism which has always distinguished our international political conduct.

The Argentine citizen lives his life under the domination of a sentiment of national pride and self-esteem which he cannot overcome and which some might consider and have already considered as a manifestation of hypertrophy of personality. I beg of you to excuse this weakness, if you note it in me, when I say that I entertain the hope that when I conclude my brief exposition you will find justification for the aspiration which every Argentine citizen entertains when he believes as a national conviction that it is our manifest destiny to make of the country, by the endeavor of her sons and the moral coöperation of mankind, a democracy of the highest social and political distinction.

The Argentine Constitution was the product of hardships extending over a long period and it has, therefore, consecrated all the social ideals which agitated the Argentine spirit from the moment the idea of our political emancipation was born.

We cannot begin the development of the subject without first taking up the preamble of that Constitution. It dominates and embraces, giving utterance thereto with eloquent simplicity, all those hardships which have not yet disappeared in spite of our achievements and which

maintain in the national spirit the eager desire to realize the aspirations which have not yet been fulfilled, or to improve to the utmost what are already a part of our national qualities.

This preamble represents the most authentic expression of our aspirations to form an organic social entity, and makes of our Constitution rather than a body of more or less strict rules of conduct, a body of principles, an enunciation of political ideals. Its elasticity and, therefore, its capacity of evolution is so great as to enable it to satisfy all the social tendencies which appear to have been imposed by mankind upon the political organization of modern nations. All the exigencies of good government, all the necessities of a wise and fruitful social administration, are to be found there directing the organic national life with the irresistible force always encountered in principles for peoples who live of, by and for them. All the impositions of the social moment and all the demands of the spirit of the times find there also a possibility of adaptation to those principles applied to the development of the activities of a people with sufficient moral and intellectual capacity to understand them, to interpret them and to practice them.

We have already lived for seventy years under the guidance of our Constitution and have formed in its observance our political habits, and have inspired in the spirit of its provisions the achievement of our civic ideals.

But the long and arduous road traveled has served solely to strengthen it and cause it to continue to be as at the beginning, with the same intensity, the highest and most perfect source of our patriotism, as well as the instrument for the adequate working out of all problems affecting our political life.

It might also be said that for an Argentine does not exist the moral possibility of applying his activity as a citizen in the life of the nation, without bearing in mind the idea of the Constitution and of its principles, which impose themselves on his understanding and on his will as the beginning and as the end of his action. By this I mean to say that as a matter of fact the first sentiment of an Argentine, the highest expression of his patriotism, is respect for the Constitution, a respect which is almost fanatical and which forms in his mind the notion of a wrong when its principles are violated.

This notion, when extended to all citizens, produces as a result a national civic morality in the masses which prompts them to make any personal sacrifice for the moral prestige of the country. This sentiment is so predominant that even in the course of our international life has it spontaneously appeared. It also produces a constant demand of the people upon the government, and becomes a permanent control of public

opinion upon all public officials as well as upon the action and conduct of their statesmen. Hence it has become a characteristic, even more, a need, of the Argentine "Public Man" to sound the very depths of the national conscience in order to adjust to its dictates his directing conduct in public life.

It is for this reason that the Argentine "Public Man" is, wherever he may be exercising his activities and in spite of the physical distance which separates him from his country, an instrument of his people for the realization of the organic aspirations which dominate them and is an interpreter of their capacities and collective desires. His individual personality does not exist. His personal aspirations are submerged in his devotion to his country. His obsession is to reflect the national personality which he feels in himself as a citizen and as a public official. Hence, also this other sentiment which dominates the "Public Man" as a necessity of his life, namely, forgetfulness of self, which our great "Public Men" have practiced to the utmost, seeking to make themselves worthy of harboring the only absorbing passion of which their moral conscience is capable, the pride of recognizing in themselves a genuine Argentine incarnation.

Both sentiments, that of collective Argentinism which characterizes our masses and that which distinguishes and determines the life and action of our "Public Man" have been embraced in the Constitution, and especially in its preamble, in the recognition of the fact of a "national entity," an "Argentine people," and the necessity of the "Public Man" to interpret that people, and to fulfill its precepts in creating for that purpose the idea of political representation. The preamble of our Constitution begins with the following words which are full of meaning to one acquainted with the historical development of our Republic: "We the representatives of the people of the Argentine nation," that is to say, "We who are vested with authority emanating from the only sovereign entity constituted by the 'People' of the 'Nation.'" Observe, gentlemen, the preëxisting notion of a "Nation"; the notion and the sentiment of an "Argentine people"; the notion and the sentiment of a collective entity with an organic life which manifests itself through that other personal entity "We," that is to say, the "Public Man," an institution created in our democracy as a consequence and as an organ of the representative system, and whose dignity and importance and whose authority are based on that other entity, the sovereign entity "People"—the "Public Man" who devotes himself without reservation to the service and the glory of the "People."

The touchstone which we have had in order to bring to ourselves the realization of the virtues of our Constitution has always been that

drafted by the great framers of your Constitution of 1787, and whenever we wish to show clearly in the analysis of ours this idea of a pre-existing "National Personality," we place beside those opening words of our preamble the words of the preamble of the American Constitution: "We, the people of the United States." Note the difference. In both is present the collective idea: the existence of a people; but in one of them the "Public Man"—"We the representatives"—acts, discharging the representation of the "People" who have previously at a constituent convention designated them to organize the forms of the government which was to rule thereafter the organic life of a "Nation" which had been in existence ever since independence had been attained.

In the other, the people of the States are those who act, they themselves framing the Constitution inasmuch as its force is subject to their approval, and the "People" not of an existing "Nation," but of sovereign States which sought to establish a closer union. The former organize a "Nation" which had already existed through the organ of their "Public Men," vested originally with the "national sentiment" which inspires them, in their patriotic labor, with the recollection of glories and hardships experienced during the period of forty years of "national" sacrifices. The latter, the plenipotentiaries of autonomous entities, seek a constitution not inspired by a "national" sentiment, which did not exist, but to form a "union" later to be converted, notwithstanding any local sentiment, into a "national" entity by the strengthening of the "more perfect union" which the sanction of the Constitution assured.

Both Constitutions conformed to the political necessities of each people, and the words of the two preambles reflect the diversity of those necessities: "We, the representatives of the people of the Argentine nation," and "We, the people of the United States"; and both at the same time that they express two different political sentiments, also express two constitutional ideas which are likewise different.

The Argentine Constitution expresses in the words quoted the sentiment of the "Nationality" which has always maintained in all minds, even during periods of internal dissension, the constitutional idea of national unity. On the other hand the American Constitution expresses in the words quoted, not the sentiment of a "nationality," but the sentiment of the locality, the sentiment of the local state which was at the same time the constitutional idea on which its federalism was based. And so two federal republics like that of the United States and that of Argentina show their different origin, one evolving by the union of its different entities toward "national consolidation," and the other evolv-

ing toward the organization of the local governments, in order to satisfy the regional exigencies of the constitutional idea of "national unity."

The political sociologist will find another essential sentiment which has always constituted one of the most fundamental and characteristic principles of our national organization. I refer to a profound liberalism which has always been reflected and has become a constitutional idea and an Argentine principle of legislation. It has also prompted, aside from the manifestations of internal organic life, the broad and generous Argentine international policy closely observed even at times and under circumstances which tended little to the preservation of a disinterested and altruistic policy.

This sentiment is expressed in the same preamble when in setting forth the purposes of the representatives of the people in enacting the Constitution, it says: "To constitute the national union, guarantee justice, assure internal peace, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and assure the benefits of liberty for ourselves, for our posterity and for all men of the world who wish to live on Argentine soil."

This was without doubt a clear expression of the social tendencies of our revolution of independence which established from the first moment, together with the abolition of slavery, the principle of political equality of all men born in our territory, that of equality of civil rights for all inhabitants, whether natives or foreigners. There is no constitution which establishes as a fundamental principle that humanitarian tendency for the entire system of legislation more broadly than the Argentine Constitution.

The exercise of the activity of a man and his liberty when the achievement of his own welfare and aspirations is involved, is limited only by the exercise of the activities and the liberty of others without any distinction other than that emanating from the difference in their personal capacities. This humanitarian sentiment has always prevailed in our tendencies, in our customs and in our laws. At the same time that it recognizes and practices that all men are created equal, it makes of the consideration and respect arising from this equality a sentiment of human fraternity, which in turn gives rise to that real social and political democracy that makes all also equal in benefiting by opportunities in proportion to the capacities and virtues of each, and likewise the country as a whole as the result of the free and fertile activities of those individual capacities and of those virtues.

Such is the nature and character of the Argentine democracy, of that Argentine democracy which is not only a principle of our internal political organization, but also an inborn sentiment in our life as an inter-

national entity, a sentiment which instills in us a feeling of absolute equality in our relations with all the nations of the world, and, consequently, the consciousness of our duties in the work of civilization and human progress.

It is for this that in the same manner that the principle of democracy is the foundation of our political organization, the sentiment of international democracy is the foundation of our international policy. This principle is so closely associated with our personal activity as citizens and our international activities as a sovereign people, that even a casual observer could easily note it even in the most inconsequential manifestations of our individual or collective life. The sentiment of political equality and of social equality of an Argentine citizen in his relations with others is like the sentiment of international equality of the Argentine Republic, a sentiment which does not admit either of neglect or indifference, not to speak of ignorance thereof. It is a sentiment under permanent tension, an aggressive sentiment whose powerful dynamic force characterizes and defines the entire movement and development of our system of legislation and all the pride of our national character which is as intense as our respect for the rights of other peoples and the generosity and altruism characteristic of our foreign policy. This sentiment is responsible, furthermore, for the spirit of optimism which characterizes our people, instilling in them the firm conviction that there is nothing which cannot be overcome by our efforts, that there is no ideal which cannot be attained by our will.

This principle of our activity as citizens was expressed, long before the enactment of our Constitution, by our greatest political sociologist, the author of the "Socialistic Dogma of the Revolution of May," in these words, which before their enunciation were an instinct of the civic action of every Argentine, and afterwards a gospel, the feeling for and observance of which constantly grew: "Men have no real value in politics except as artisans for the production or realization of social ideas. We do not conceive any progress for the country except under the condition that the initiative in thought and social action be taken by the best and most capable; and by the best and most capable we understand those who represent the purest virtues and the highest intelligence."

Together with these instincts of moral eminence which characterize the permanent ideal of an Argentine as a citizen, there springs the profound knowledge of our national greatness which has also been an inborn patrimony of our thought and was expressed with the same candid conviction when we came to independent life, or when we were succeeding in the struggle for national organization, or at the present moment

when we feel a personality already vested with attributes of all kinds to act in the front rank with the most advanced in the struggle of civilization.

In brief, I might affirm that the essential idea, the basic idea of our political life, the principal Argentine constitutional idea, is "Democracy." Democracy founded on an unshaken conviction of equality and civic fraternity and of equality and international fraternity, and developed upon a representative system of government which at the same time that it recognizes the superior existence of a "People" with aspirations and a "National" consciousness, form also a basic element, the Argentine "Public Man," representing all the moral ideas of that "People," developing his directive action as an interpreter of the popular conscience and exigencies, the visionary of a glory which only the patriot and the democrat can feel, the glory of achieving a name, no matter how modest, in the history of the progress of his country.

This essential idea rests likewise on the basis of a preëxisting collective instinct, the instinct of nationality, but stimulated by the necessity of individual realization which animates our constitutive elements determining the conscience of the citizen, and by the necessity of partial collective realization, which led to defining, more and more, after our independence, the life of the local entity of our Argentine provinces.

The sentiment of local autonomy which underlay the internal struggle for its recognition and which after becoming defined and strengthened during 40 years of efforts and untold hardships, was recognized by the framers of our fundamental charter, was as a matter of fact the origin of this other constitutional idea—Argentine federalism—which was affirmed as the principle on which our politico-administrative organization was to be based. This other Argentine constitutional idea was adopted not as the result of a capricious and theoretical speculation, but as the result of a popular sentiment which had overcome all previous efforts at organization that had failed to recognize it.

There can be no democracy where ignorance reigns, ignorance not being compatible with the morality and the ideals which are essential elements of democracy. Nor can there be a democracy, or at least it cannot produce the organic political activity indispensable in the stimulation of national life, when civic indifference prevails, diverting the citizen from his interest in public affairs or keeping him from the polls where the powers of the government are organized and the scope of its action fixed as called for by the national interest. Hence, two more constitutional ideas: compulsory primary education and the compulsory vote. They have not been in fact literally prescribed by the fundamental

charter, but they have been imposed by it in principle, and fully regulated and defined by special legislation.

Compulsory primary education seeks to equalize as far as possible the mental capacity of our citizens in order to place them in such position that the civic life of the country may not be turned over to the blind passion of more or less self-interested bosses, but may develop rather as a consequence of a direct consideration of the problems concerning the life of the nation by the average mental capacity of the masses.

By the adoption of the compulsory vote it has been sought to remove the dangers of civic atony. Among us compulsory common education has always prepared our citizens for the struggle of life, giving them the means of obtaining a more or less broad understanding of the general notions essential in modern society to efficient action. The compulsory vote is impressing upon them the need of familiarizing themselves with the principles which personify national "Public Men," with the exigencies of the policy and administration of the country. In this way they are able to influence the action of those "Public Men," compelling them, either to define their principles by discussion in the electoral campaigns, or to apply them in official positions, and enabling them to control the action and correct the errors of the government by an intelligent and patriotic opposition.

These principles are supplemented: compulsory education, by the removal of every religious influence from the public primary school, thus leaving the work of forming and developing a religious sentiment to the family and home; the compulsory vote, by providing for a secret ballot in order to avoid the corruption which might result from weakness of character in the voter.

Our Constitution has recognized to such a degree the impossibility of attaining our democracy except upon the basis of the mental preparation of the citizen, that it has provided in one of its provisions relating to the political existence of the "Federal States," the requirement that their local constitutions assure administration of justice, municipal government and primary instruction therein as a condition precedent to guaranteeing them the enjoyment and the exercise of their institutions.

All these antecedents are the result of a sentiment of fruitful liberalism which has always controlled the development of our organic life. It has injected into every constituent or legislative act a principle of activity and progress so intense in its nature that more than once it has brought us to the point of considering respect for the administrative or political traditions as contrary to the interests of the nation. It might also be asserted that the only tradition which persists in the

Argentine mind as a force of permanent inspiration, and which cannot be overcome, is the tradition of the glories and ideals of the revolution and of the principles which gave them birth.

Perhaps an explanation of this peculiar circumstance may also be found in the fact that that revolution put an end to the non-political existence of the people and to a public administration organized upon the principle of the absolute power of kings. The revolution created a new state of affairs which did not find in that previous situation a single base for expansion. Tradition, therefore, instead of constituting for us the starting point for subsequent progress, signified rather a negation of the principles of the revolution which was based on liberty and equality of men and of peoples, that is to say, upon the new principle of the revolutionary democracy, which, as our great sociologist says: "Leveling all conditions, it tells us that there are no other differences than those established by the law for the government of society; that the magistrate, outside of the place he discharges his functions, is merged with other citizens; that the priest, the soldier, the lawyer, the merchant, the artisan, the rich and the poor are all alike; that the lowest of the masses is a man equal in rights to others and carries impressed on his forehead the dignity of his origin; that only probity, work, talent and genius produce superiority; that one engaged in the smallest industry, if he have capacity and virtues, is no less than the priest, the lawyer or any other who devotes his faculties to some other occupation; and, in brief, that in a democratic society the only ones worthy, wise and virtuous and entitled to consideration are those who contribute with their natural efforts to the welfare and prosperity of the country."

We had been living for three centuries under the dead weight of an almost religious respect for tradition and of the infallible authority which the old political doctrines imposed; while the moment called for the application of the forces which have gone to make up the strength of democracy as a political principle. They called for a continuous action of reform, for the exercise of all the mental and physical activities of man, because, as a matter of fact, movement in every aspect of social life is the essence and the reason of democracy. Hence, therefore, this sentiment of profound liberalism which has always characterized our organic life, a sentiment which spontaneously exerts its influence throughout our social activity. It finds its reflection not only in our internal legislation wherein are established all the broadest doctrines which human thought has evolved in the matter of individual rights, but also in its strengthening of the principles of liberty and equality.

A consequence of this essential principle is found in the fact that Argentine life develops and has always developed looking about and to the future, rather than back to the past, and in the midst of the struggle which leads to triumph, rather than to the consideration of what has already been attained.

The individual rights corresponding to the Argentine liberalism constitute in reality the patrimony of every citizen, and a democratic organization like ours could not but adopt them in the broadest form and assure their exercise with the integrity necessary to produce the favorable social effects which spring from free and salutary individual action. It is for this reason that the principle which establishes the political equality of all citizens and the civil equality of all inhabitants, as well as the guarantees thereof, has found scrupulous expression in our fundamental laws and regulations.

This idea has been incorporated as a principle in the Argentine Constitution. It prescribes that all inhabitants of the nation enjoy the following rights subject to the laws which govern their exercise, namely: To work and engage in any lawful occupation; to navigate and engage in commerce; to petition the authorities; to enter, sojourn in, pass through and leave the territory; to publish their ideas through the press without previous censorship; to use and enjoy their property; to associate for useful ends; freely to profess their religion; to teach and to learn; and as a guarantee of the exercise of these rights the same Constitution has proscribed all prerogatives based on blood or birth as well as the existence of special privileges or titles of nobility, and has proclaimed equality as the basis of taxation and public charges; it has proclaimed the inviolability of property; it has guaranteed to the author and inventor the exclusive ownership of his work, invention or discovery for a reasonable time commensurate with the general interests; it has proscribed forever from the Argentine penal system the confiscation of property; it has established that no armed body can make requisitions nor demand aid of any kind; it has established that no inhabitant of the nation can be punished without previous trial in pursuance with a law antedating the act for which he is tried, nor be tried by special commissions, nor be removed from the jurisdiction of the judges designated to try him by a law antedating the act, nor be compelled to testify against himself, nor be arrested except on the written order of a competent authority. It has proclaimed the inviolability of the defense in court of persons and rights, as well as the inviolability of domicile and of correspondence and private papers; it has abolished forever the penalty of death for political causes, and as to its penal institutions it has recorded as a constitutional principle the idea that the jails of the

nation must be sanitary and clean and be used for the custody of and not for punishing the unfortunate inmates thereof, holding the judge who authorizes them responsible for any measures which, under the pretext of caution, tend to mortify them beyond the requirements of such custody. And, finally, it has assured the absolute moral independence of all its inhabitants, guaranteeing the principle that the private acts of men which in no wise offend order or public morals, nor prejudice third persons, are reserved solely to God and exempt from the authority of magistrates.

Beside the principle of equality of rights and as a correlative thereof, it has always been an Argentine idea that every citizen bears the responsibility of the national defense, and, therefore, that it is his duty to take up arms in its behalf. This constitutional idea has been guaranteed by the enactment of laws which establish the principle of compulsory military service for the organization of the national army and navy, constituting, in conjunction with the principles of compulsory primary education and compulsory universal suffrage, the three cornerstones upon which the entire structure of Argentine democracy rests, that is to say, the mental and moral vigor, together with the civic capacity and the defensive strength which constitute combined the guaranty of the organization, the practice and the maintenance of democratic institutions.

I have already said that another of the great Argentine ideas, constitutional in fact because it has its existence in the ground-work of our national system as well as in the mind itself of the Argentine people, is that which springs from the humanitarianism peculiar thereto. It strengthens and develops to the utmost the sentiment of our national personality, and recognizes and respects as well the principle of the sovereign equality of other nations, practicing, not for the sake of convenience which never determined the action of privileged organisms, but on account of the moral necessity which dominates our life, the principle of international democracy which has at every moment of our history inspired our foreign policy.

This principle has not been only recognized by its enunciation in the preamble of the Constitution, when it assures the benefits of liberty to all men of the world who desire to inhabit Argentine soil, as well as to ourselves as to our posterity. It has also inspired the Argentine policy respecting the foreigner, whether manifested either in the enactment of positive law, in international relations, or in the negotiation of treaties and conventions. The Constitution and the laws have declared the principle that foreigners enjoy in the territory of the nation all the civil rights of a citizen; it has likewise recognized the principle that

the navigation of the inland waters of the nation is open to all flags; it has prescribed the obligation of the federal government to cement its relations of peace and commerce with foreign powers by treaties conforming to the principles of our public law; and, finally, it has thrown open the doors of all our moral and material activities to the foreigner without further restrictions than those called for for the exigencies of our social preservation, in establishing as an obligation of the federal government the promotion of European immigration and in forbidding it to adopt any measure tending to restrict, limit or encumber with any tax whatsoever the entrance into Argentine territory of foreigners who come with the purpose of tilling the soil, improving industries or introducing and teaching the arts and sciences.

It is unnecessary to tell you that an evidence of the faithful application of these principles is shown by the hundreds of thousands of men who annually come from all civilized nations to our shores to establish their homes among us and to take advantage of the opportunities offered by our natural wealth and our laws to men of good will.

This liberalism, which has always been an essential factor in the development of our organic life and has always determined our legislation and our policy, has not found expression solely in the precepts of our Constitution or in the provisions of our laws. It also characterizes each period of our diplomatic history in so eloquent and so efficient a form that it constitutes one of the most certain elements of judgment for the study of the tendencies and characteristics of the Argentine people. This history shows that the Argentine people is an organically pacifist people, a people which as an element of civilization and of progress has the powerful intuition that only with the prevalence of peace and good will among men, and peace and good will among nations, is it possible for their ideals and aims to be maintained.

Resort to arms has never attracted their predilections, and if they have more than once been compelled to accept it as an inexorable and inevitable necessity, they have not done so either to seek a benefit or to procure an advantage, because they have never conceived any benefit or advantage which could spring from the misfortune or from the prostration which war entails. It is only the unavoidable exigencies of the national dignity or the integrity of our institutions which could compel it to accept the calamities and consequences of a war. But war itself has served to reaffirm how intense and deep is our liberalism.

Another manifestation of our liberalism may be found in the propaganda which our country has been conducting for international arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations, adopting a formula which is at the present time the highest perfection of that system. One

of the most illustrious statesmen of my country thus had occasion in 1880, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, to affirm that arbitration had always been a noble and constant aim of our people, and that "the Argentine government can show its adherence for a long time to that principle which wisely considers both the interests of justice and the altruistic requirements of humanity." In fact, since 1856, when the Argentine Republic concluded with Chile her first arbitration treaty for the settlement of boundary questions pending at that time and such others as might thereafter arise, our efforts to bind ourselves with all other countries of the world through compulsory arbitration, have not ceased for a single day.

I cherish the belief—perhaps in my pride as an Argentine—that it is the recognition of the moral conscience of my country, rather than her enormous economic vitality that now and always has won for her the esteem and respect of the civilized world.

Gentlemen, I must now conclude, but not without taking this opportunity to thank you for the honor you have bestowed upon me in inviting me to address you, and to express the admiration we feel for the illustrious founders of the American Union. From them our heroes got the most profound political inspiration. They became for us an example and a model of republican virtues and democratic ideals, and the Constitution they framed guided in great measure the glorious expansion of our forces in this strenuous march towards the highest possible culminations, a fatiguing but steady march but to which we are forced by the record of our past, the vigorous achievements of our present, and the energy of our aspirations for the future.

CONFERENCE ON COUNTY HISTORY

Opening Remarks

By President Archibald Henderson.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I welcome you here today most heartily. I feel that we are assembled to consider what I regard as the most vital and immediate problem in historical investigation now confronting our people. No people can form a just estimate of their own history, or feel legitimate pride in it, until they know what that history is. And I venture the assertion that no comprehensive or complete history of North Carolina up to any given point in time will ever be written until the contributions of the individual units, whose integrated life have constituted that history, are studied and bodied forth with completeness and detail. The county is the unit of the State; the history of the county must furnish the nucleus for the history of the State.

There are three phases in the study of the county history which should, I think, be considered today.

First and foremost, we must endeavor to arouse historic interest in every county of the State, and further the efforts of local investigators and local historical organizations to secure, while there is yet time, or at least to locate and catalogue, such material of historic interest as may be in private hands—diaries, letters, papers, documents, manuscripts, etc. I would point to my own native county of Rowan which has reorganized the Rowan County Historical Society; its quarters will be in the great new community center, the historic courthouse, now handsomely remodeled. An elaborate history of the county is now preparing; and it is probable that a new and greatly enlarged edition of Rumple's "Rowan" will also be published in the near future.

The second problem is the task of the examination and calendaring of the public records in every county in the State. For this purpose legislative appropriations, running over a series of years, will be required to cover the cost of a trained historical expert. Such an historical expert would examine every record book and every bundle of manuscripts in every county courthouse, make a card catalogue of all materials which deserve to be catalogued, and eventually collate all such card catalogues in publishing a full calendar of all the county records in the State. A duty no less important than that of cataloguing materials would be the preparation of a report on the way in which the records are kept, and a recommendation of some uniform method for

indexing the records and keeping them on file in such a way as to be easy of access to historical students.

The third problem is the very pressing and vital problem: What type of county history do we really want here in North Carolina? The most scientific and exhaustive history of any county I have seen, of the modern type, is the "History of Lake County, Illinois," by Prof. John J. Halsey, of Lake Forest University, whose people, by the way, lived in Chowan for more than a century until his grandfather moved away from Edenton in 1806. I have brought this county history, a quarto volume, here with me; its length, 872 pages, will show you how much may be said—and how well it may be said—about a county. My own feeling is that our new county histories should be brief, concise, yet comprehensive in scope. On February 10, 1857, Governor Swain sent out a circular letter in which he said: "To attain uniformity in the series of county histories—perhaps a better plan cannot be suggested than to make 'Wheeler's Sketches of North Carolina' available to the purpose." Today the effort should be made to get away from the old type of genealogical, political and martial county history, with its glorification of family, its accentuation of the military record, and its dreary catalogue of officials with corresponding dates of service. What is needed today, I would venture to suggest, is a new type of county history, which tells in brief, concise and readable form the story of the *life of the people*—industrial, racial, social, economic, institutional; one which ruthlessly omits umbrageous family trees, and reduces the political and martial phases of county history to the true scale of proportion in the picture. I would suggest that a board of editors, with authority to act, should be appointed by this body, whose function it shall be to stimulate the writing of histories in every county in the State, and to furnish a model guide for a county history.

A New Type of County History

By William K. Boyd, Ph.D., Professor of History in Trinity College.

County history has a twofold interest. One is purely local, the concern of a family in its genealogy, of a *raconteur* in notable events of the neighborhood, and of citizens in the political, social, and intellectual antecedents of their environment. The other interest of the subject is derived from its relation to state or region, the way in which it may illustrate and visualize the evolution of that unit of which the county is only a digit. The first of these interests has dominated the writing of county history from the days of Wheeler to the present,[1] yet I feel safe in saying that even from the purely local point of view, in no instance has the history of any county been exhaustively treated. The second phase of county history, its integration in the life of a section or of a state, is more difficult to comprehend and to portray. It has not been done, with the exception of a few incomplete contributions. Believing that a combination of the two interests, the local and the state or regional, is possible, I take the liberty of saying a few words concerning the content of a county history written with such a purpose, some of the sources which are available, and some ways in which such kind of investigation may be encouraged.

I.

Mr. Nash has well said that Orange County in its genesis was "without form and void." [2] Consequently the first task of a county historian is to describe the resources of the county, its geological formation, soils, fauna and flora, minerals, and drainage, pointing out the influence of these earthy factors on the life of the inhabitants. A most helpful guide to the information for such a chapter is Laney and Wood's Bibliography of North Carolina Geology, Mineralogy and Geography.[3]

This opening chapter should be followed by a discussion of the origin of the county, with full particulars of the causes and process by which it was chartered. At the very inception of the county its integration with general political history begins; recollect, for instance, the controversy in colonial days between the Governor and the Assembly concerning the right of incorporation, the significance of an expanding frontier, and the sectional controversy of the east and the west. These have been powerful factors in the organization of our counties; unfor-

[1] Wheeler: Historical Sketches of North Carolina (Philadelphia, 1851).
[2] Nash: History of Orange County, Part I (N. C. Booklet, X, No. 2).
[3] Bulletin of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey (Raleigh, 1909).

tunately the information about their relation to the incorporation of specific counties is hidden away in the colonial records, the legislative journals, and the manuscript archives of the State.

Logically there should follow an account of the early inhabitants, the Indians and the whites. The early settlements should be analyzed, showing the racial origins and the influence of racial traits upon later history. Nor should the matter of genealogy be neglected, for it is of far greater than local importance. I dare say that every person in North Carolina who is in any way identified with local history has received many letters of inquiry from people in other states who are anxious to trace their North Carolina ancestry. Most of these inquiries are in vain, because the gentle art of genealogy is almost unknown among us. Therefore the county historian should give an extended list of the early settlers, let us say down to the year 1815, when the migration to the southwest and the northwest was well under way. The significance of such a genealogical survey is realized when we recall that in the early days of Georgia and Alabama the first political cleavage was not so much over political principles as the rivalry of the elements of their population, notably between the North Carolinians and the Virginians in Georgia. The local historians of the southwestern states tell us in just what regions the Carolinians and the Virginians settled; but who can say which sections of North Carolina furnished most of the immigrants? True, Iredell County gave to the far west a Kit Carson, to Tennessee Hugh L. White, while from Mecklenburg and Wake went James K. Polk and Andrew Johnson to Tennessee. Alabama is indebted to Sampson for William R. King, to Mecklenburg for Israel Pickens, to Robeson for John Murphy, to Stokes for Gabriel Moore. Georgia acquired John Clarke from Wake, Jared Irwin from Mecklenburg, and William Robinson from Halifax. But which counties, rather which section of the State, furnished most of the supporters of Governor Clarke in his memorable campaigns against Troup and the Virginians living in Georgia? Moreover, why did so many North Carolinians leave the State of their nativity? What was the effect of this migration on progress and leadership at home? Somewhere and somehow our county records should tell; yet the only investigation of this phase of the history of a single county, so far as I know, has been made by a resident of Alabama.[4]

There are other possibilities in the analysis of population that have not been realized. For instance, one of the leading pacifists of the country has recently declared that in the Civil War the best physical and mental types of manhood in the South were lost, that the hard task of industrial and intellectual recuperation was left to a generation far

[4]Manuscript by Hon. Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery, Ala.

inferior in quality to that which was living in 1860. The facts on which he bases this conclusion are derived from a study of two counties in Virginia and one in Georgia.[5] I wonder if a conscientious county historian in North Carolina, unbiased by pacifist ideals, would come to a similar conclusion?

From the population it is natural to turn to some of the forces that shape the life of a community. The one most slightly treated in the average county history is religion. Perhaps the historian is unduly impressed with denominational jealousies and theological controversies, and deems reticence on the matter of church history the only way to be optimistic. However, he should not fail to realize that religion in its origin is closely related to the social instinct, the desire of mankind for companionship. It is therefore not accidental that in the settlement of this country the church existed long before the day of the schoolhouse, the lodge, the Farmers Union, or the modern club. Moreover, the rules of the churches reflect the attitude of the community on such matters as marriage between members of different denominations, traffic in slaves, Masonry, dress, and amusements. Therefore the church records of the county should be diligently sought and examined. They will reveal standards of conduct and thought that have passed away, and will suggest many traits of mind and character of the early inhabitants. Moreover, some of the significant movements in the history of religion in the South began in North Carolina, such as the first educational movement, the first periodical, and the first camp meeting among the Methodists. James O'Kelly, the earliest champion of individualism in religion in the South, was born and died in Chatham County. The rise of the Missionary Baptists is of more than state or county significance, while the leaven of Calvinism did much to establish academies and colleges. Who can tell to what extent county history might add to our knowledge of these forces, important in the history of Christianity in the South as well as the State?

Economic conditions have also been a powerful factor in shaping the life of a people. North Carolina has always been notable for the variety of its industrial activities, the absence of any solidarity of economic interests, and a resulting lack of unity in political sentiment. Yet economic development has received slight account in our county histories; in none of them have all the available sources been used. I therefore take the liberty of making the following suggestions for the treatment of the economic development of a county.

There were four stages in the economic evolution of a pioneer community, represented by four types of inhabitants: the hunter or trapper, the hog ranger, the farmer, and the miller and manufacturer. If pos-

[5] Jordan: War's Aftermath.

sible the course of these stages of development in the history of the county should be traced. Here written records are apt to fail but landmarks often tell the story. The old trails may show the course of the retiring trapper, the names hog run, horse pocosin, etc., the grazing ground of the herdsman, while land grants and deeds indicate the advent of the farmer. Visualization of these processes in the settlement of our country is always helpful to those interested in state or national history; it also adds color and value to the narrative for those interested in purely local affairs.

Much more detailed information may be had and is desirable concerning the last stages of industrial development, the agricultural and manufacturing. From the angle of state and national, as well as purely local affairs, studies of the following topics would be of inestimable value: the average size of farms in various epochs of the county's history, the number of slaves and the nature of white tenancy prior to 1860, the products and the method of marketing them, and the agricultural changes since 1865. Likewise the rise of manufactures should be traced from the grist and lumber mills to the modern factory. The whole subject of economic history, county by county, is full of possibilities, for the economists and the sociologists are more and more deserting their theories for the study of industrial transformations in small communities or units. Yet in none of our county histories can there be found an analysis of the ante-bellum plantation system or documents illustrating plantation life. In fact, the only documents illustrative of agricultural conditions in the South prior to 1860 and the only study of the agricultural transformation since 1865 have been published by students of general or of state history residing beyond the confines of North Carolina.[6]

The topics thus outlined do not by any means cover the field of county history but they do illustrate the blending of state or regional and local interests. However, they must be treated cross-sectionally, for the history of a county must follow the grand divisions of national history, the Colonial, the Revolutionary, the Federal, the Civil War, the Reconstruction and the contemporary periods. To make more concrete and definite my conception of county investigation, I take the liberty of outlining in detail one cross-section, the period of Reconstruction. The history of the county from 1865 to 1876 should discuss the following subjects:

I. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

A. Loss of men and property during the war, based on censuses of 1860, 1870, 1880 and local sources; shifting of population.

[6]Phillips: Plantation and Frontier, Vols. I and II of Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Brooks: The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912 (University of Wisconsin).

B. Break up of the plantation system, as shown by the census and local records, the rise of white and colored tenancy, the resulting change in products, debts and mortgages, and if possible the influence of the Freedmen's Bureau and the legislation of 1866 on labor.
C. The rise of manufactures to 1880; pointing out the nature of manufactures in 1860, 1870, 1880, the new industries, influence of foreign capital if any; the rise of new towns; the number, sex and wages of the employees.
D. Transportation: The railways in 1860, 1870, 1880; if any increase, the method by which attained.
E. White and negro population, 1860, 1870, 1880.

II. The Churches During Reconstruction.

A. The number, denomination, and membership in 1860.
B. Membership during the war and during Reconstruction; changes in customs.
C. Separation of the races; rise of the negro church.

III. Educational Development.

A. Public and private schools in 1860.
B. Appropriation for schools during the war; fate of the academies; collapse of the ante-bellum school system.
C. The revival of the public school.
D. Academies since the war.
E. Rise of the negro school, public and private.

IV. County Government.

A. The Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions from the opening of the war until its abolition in 1868.
B. Special governing boards, if any.
C. Rise of the modern form of county government under the Constitution of 1868.
D. The advent of city charters.
E. State courts and military courts during Reconstruction.

V. Secret Organizations.

A. Background; the Freedmen's Bureau; military government; economic and social changes.
B. The Red Strings and the war societies.
C. The Union League.
D. The Ku Klux.
E. Operations of the societies; methods, political activities; riots or outrages; investigations; decadence.

VI. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

A. Party alignment in 1860 and 1861.
B. Political activity during the war; legislative, gubernatorial and Confederate elections.
C. The Convention of 1865, the gubernatorial and legislative elections of 1865.
D. Parties and elections of 1867.
E. The county in the Convention of 1868.
F. Politics, 1868-1876.

VII. SKETCHES OF LEADERS IN POLITICS AND INDUSTRY.

This outline for the Reconstruction period of county history is more than experimental and tentative. It has been used with good results at the University of Mississippi and at Trinity College in this State.[7] The possibilities of county history in other periods might be sketched, as, for instance, in that profound industrial and social transformation since 1876. However, as this chapter borders on the domain of that newest and most fascinating of the social sciences, Rural Economics and Sociology, I refrain, and pass on to the next division of my remarks, the question of bibliography for county history.

II.

The principal sources may be classified as manuscript and printed. Each group deserves some consideration.

A. MANUSCRIPT.

I. The county archives, consisting of the proceedings of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and its successor, the board of county commissioners; the deeds in the register's office; the wills filed by the clerk; the tax lists on the sheriff's books, etc. These have been compared by Mr. Nash to the dry bones in the incomparable vision of Ezekiel, which the "historian's enlightened but restrained imagination" may clothe "with sinews and flesh and life." They are of inestimable value to the genealogist and the biographer; they also indicate the section of a county first settled, the intellectual and economic character of the settlers, the course of roads, the construction of bridges and mills, litigation, and the growth of wealth, the truth or falsity of traditions, and numerous facts unexpected and undreamed of by the searcher after truth. How little have they been used! A gentleman actively engaged in county investigation ventures the assertion that "not in an old county of the State has every record been perused from its establishment to 1850." One of the paramount needs is a manual of methodology for county archives

[7]See Publications of the Mississippi State Historical Society, Vols. XI, XII; Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series X.

which will give a summary of the kind of material that one may expect to find in each class of archives, the best manner of taking notes and making cross-references, and the relation of the archives of the county to those of the county or counties from which it was formed, and other pertinent matters.

II. The legislative, executive and judicial archives, the manuscript records in Raleigh in the offices of the Governor, the executive officers and the Supreme Court,—a vast array of petitions, rejected bills, official communications, letters, account books, military rosters and court records, which have never been classified or indexed. Some day, let us hope, the State will realize their value and have them arranged and calendared. Until then every investigator, whether of county or general state history, must fish in troubled waters.

III. Records of churches, institutions, and societies. These are of course of miscellaneous character and vary from county to county. A search must be made for them. Let me illustrate the danger of overlooking them. Several years ago the history of a county was written in which there were a few remarks about its anti-slavery sentiment. Unknown to the writer there existed in that county the minutes of one of the most remarkable anti-slavery organizations in the entire South, containing enough material to make a chapter in themselves. But they were unknown to the author, and that chapter in the county's history remained to be written.

IV. Private correspondence; diaries, account books, plantation records, etc. How often are these destroyed. A few years ago the personal effects of one of the contractors who helped to build an important railway in North Carolina were sold by his executors. A fine chest of drawers was bought; the purchaser, finding it full of papers and letters, emptied the contents on the ground and burned them. Who can tell the loss thus sustained to the history of Rowan County?

B. Printed Sources.

I. Laws of North Carolina, sessional. These contain a vast amount of information that has never been thoroughly explored. For example, in the private acts can be found the licenses to build roads and bridges, the charters of academies, manufacturing companies and Masonic lodges, provisions for local government, taxation, patrols and care of the poor, the foundation of libraries, the holding of courts, and numerous other matters which interpret life in the past. A complete file of the laws is rare, hardly to be found except in our larger libraries. Moreover there is no general index to them. Some patriotic citizen with an antiquarian taste could place all local historians under a lasting

debt of gratitude by publishing a calendar of the material for county history in the public and private laws.

II. The Public Documents of North Carolina are also a vast storehouse of information, the publication of which was begun in 1836. They contain the reports of the State Treasurer and Comptroller, messages of the Governors, reports of railway and plank road companies, and of committees. In the Comptroller's reports can be found the amount of taxes paid by each county, in 1854 the value of lands county by county, in 1856 and after the amount of local taxes, and in 1863 the first valuation of slave property. The appropriations for public schools and the condition of the banks are also given in the Comptroller's Reports. A complete check list of the contents of the public documents relating to counties is, I think, impossible; but there is a valuable help to their use in Bowker's "State Publications."

III. The Journals of the Legislature are also important, for in them can be traced the attitude of the county's representatives on such important measures as railroad bills, public appropriations, resolutions concerning State's rights and slavery, personal liberty and constitutional questions during the war, as well as purely local matters. The same may be said for the journals of constitutional conventions.

IV. Records of church bodies, churches, lodges, commercial organizations and societies of various kinds.

V. Publications of the United States Government, notably the Census, the War of the Rebellion Records, the Ku Klux Report, the Report of the Reconstruction Committee, and the reports of the engineers, which contain a vast amount of information relating to economic, social, military and political history.

VI. Newspapers. A file of a county newspaper, when available, bears to the historian the same relation that a rich vein does to the miner of gold. Unfortunately files are rare, there being few in the State Library prior to 1880. I wish that some librarian with an antiquarian interest would make a check list of the North Carolina newspapers in the libraries of the State, of educational institutions, and of individuals, and also those in the great collections of the North and West. Let me add that some of the national papers in the old days contain valuable information regarding local affairs in North Carolina, notably *Niles' Register*.

III.

Finally, how can the cause of county history be aided? Let us remember, first of all, that the historical, like the literary impulse, cannot be grown by hothouse methods; it obeys no law, and like the wind, it blows where it listeth. I will go further and assert that history is a

branch of literature, one of the arts as much as poetry and fiction. It has, however, this distinction, that while it is an art in its purpose, its method is scientific. Herein lies the opportunity of an organization like the State Literary and Historical Society to be of service; it may furnish an outline and guide for gathering and organizing material; in other words, we can formulate a method for county history work, which, we may hope, will attract now and then the genius of the literary artist. I therefore suggest that this Society appoint a committee to prepare a guide for the study and writing of county history in North Carolina. Such a work, when made accessible to classes in American history, literary clubs, libraries and individuals, may, in the providence of the muses, bring results in more numerous and more comprehensive county histories. In one other way can this organization be of service. It can give, each year, right of way in its program to studies in county history. Such a policy will assure recognition for investigators of county history; it will also give a permanent and solid value to the society's publications.

The Vital Study of a County

BY E. C. BRANSON, PROFESSOR OF RURAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

In prefatory way, I desire to congratulate the State Literary and Historical Society upon the rare vision and wisdom of its plan to assemble, interpret, and preserve in worthful, literary form the history of North Carolina, county by county.

The consciousness of well characterized group-personality is strong in North Carolinians; so strong that it is strange and astonishing to people in New England, Minnesota, Illinois and other States where our annual Carolina Day and Community-service Week have so greatly challenged attention and comment. It is less strange in California, Kansas, Kentucky or Virginia, where a similar pride in the home State has always been an informing force in individual and civic development. Love of State is not a childish, trivial something; it is an indispensable factor in the building of character.

Denmark is a conspicuous modern instance of local patriotism as a national asset. The thing that most impresses a visitor in the Danish Folkschulen is not the agriculture or the home economics, but the local folk-lore, the home-bred myth, song, and story, the chronicles of Danish heroism, patriotism and achievement that fill the teaching of literature and history to overflowing.

Denmark is recited and sung in every class every day. Her agriculture is wonderful, but her blazing national consciousness goes further toward explaining her rise into greatness in the last half century. Danish patriotism is not narrowly parochial and provincial. It is intense, but it is broadly intelligent.

The Carolina Day exercises in our schools impress visitors from other States in quite the same way. "I am sorry to say there is nothing like this in my home State," said a New Englander in North Carolina on the fourth of last December.

Be it said to the honor of North Carolina, there never was a time when a North Carolinian could be a gentleman and be ignorant of the history of his mother State. Familiar, loving acquaintance with the home county and the home State is a necessary foundation for effective citizenship.

THE REARWARD LOOK.

The vital study of a county is the study of what is vital in a county. It is a study of the big, main things, the causal, significant, conse-

quential things in community life. Things that are trivial and superficial, incidental and inconsequential have small place in such a study. If so be they indicate the characteristic mood, humor or temper of a people, they have a very large place in an interpretative study; but not otherwise.

First of all, it ought to begin with the rearward look. What the county was day before yesterday is related to what it will be day after tomorrow. What lasts on and on in any community grows straight out of the nature of human nature in that community.

An understanding of the economic, social, and civic life of a county or a country calls for acquaintance with the historical background; with origins, resources, advantages, obstacles, occupations and industries, racial strains, noteworthy events and achievements, localities and memorials, with community-building leaders, with notable, noble personages and their contributions to the industrial or spiritual wealth of the county. The field under survey ought not to be cluttered up with trifles light as air, however interesting or appealing to family pride.

A county history now on my desk well illustrates what a county history ought not to be. It is big and bulky, exhaustive and exhausting. It is descriptive merely. It is crowded with trivialties that signify nothing; with names and places, items and details that were not worth recording. They confuse one's sense of values. They lead into no conclusions large or small. It is occasionally interesting and charming. It is full of things curious, fantastic, and bizarre; but hardly worth one's while for instruction or inspiration. It is, I may say, one of the many histories of the New England Berkshires.

THE ROUND-ABOUT AND THE FORWARD LOOK.

But the vital study of a county also calls for the round-about and the forward look. It is a homespun study of community forces, agencies and influences, tendencies, drifts and movements that have made the history we study today and that fatefully are making the history our children will be studying tomorrow.

It is examining the economic and social forces that operate in the small, familiar area of the home county. They are forces that have something like the steady, fateful pull and power of gravitation or any other natural law. They are creating opportunities or obstacles. They are making or marring community life. They need to be definitely known and to be harnessed for beneficent uses, as we harness electricity for traction, light and warmth.

It means a study of community resources and their development; of populations and occupations; of economic classes and conditions; of

factors in the production and retention of community wealth; of the economic surplus and its relation to the self-sustaining, self-protecting, self-elevating abilities of the community; of market and credit conditions; of organization and coöperation; of facilities for communication and transportation; of homes and home conditions; of public health and sanitation; of recreations and amusements; of school, church and Sunday School conditions and problems.

It is a study of the near, the here, and the now; of the every-day, work-a-day problems of life. Many of them are persistently nagging, harrying and harassing. Every minute of every day they call for solution.

It is not only a vital but a vitalizing study. Intimate, competent knowledge of the home community, county, and State means real education and culture, stimulation and preparation for effective citizenship. It quickens social conscience and civic courage.

The right of suffrage—the careless reverie of voting, as Gerald Stanley Lee calls it—is not the essence of citizenship; genuine, generous concern about community welfare and well-being is.

Charles Edgeworth Jones, once upon a time, wrote about "The Dead Towns of Georgia." It is a significant title. Every State has its dead towns and dead counties; dead as Dickens said Mr. Marley was—dead as a door nail. Other counties are half-awake, half-asleep, half-alive, half-dead. Others are building prosperity upon insecure economic foundations. Others are winning a prosperity that is substantial, safe and abiding.

Is the home county marking time, moving forward or lagging toward the rear? What are the causes? What are the consequences? What are the remedies? What means and measures are worth proposing to check decline and decay, or to promote real progress and prosperity?

The vital study of a county finds answers to these and many more questions of similar sort. They are important, worth-while problems, and a competent grasp of them makes for efficient social service and effective civic effort.

Compare a county with itself during the last census period, in the important concerns of economic and social development, and rank it with the other counties of the State, and the results are arresting—sometimes startling. But also, the response makes every social nerve tense and taut—that is to say, if the student be capable and worthy of real citizenship.

THE METHOD.

Bulletin No. 9, issued by the Extension Bureau of the University of North Carolina, is entitled Home-County Club-Studies. It shows in

brief, definite detail just how to make a vital study of the home county. The County Clubs, and the North Carolina Club at the University, are studying the State as a whole, and county by county. They are following the outlines of this little bulletin. One county is organizing for a still larger survey of its economic and social conditions and problems.

Correspondence Courses in home-county studies are offered by the University for a trifling registration fee. Extra-campus clubs and individual students here and there in the State are undertaking these studies.

The vital study of a county leads into a new field of learning. In the University of North Carolina the State itself has become a distinct curriculum concern, and occupies the entire time and attention of a department head.

The history and the economic resources of the State have always been explored and exploited at the University. The work of the new department concerns the economic and social puzzles and problems of the State, their causes, consequences, and remedies. Together the departments of history, economics, and sociology are concentrated upon the rearward, the round-about and the forward look; upon the North Carolina that was, and is, and is to be.

The vital study of a county will concern county history, but also county economics and sociology. Such a study can hardly fail to be both vital and vitalizing.

How Can We Secure the Writing of County Histories?

BY MISS ADELAIDE FRIES, SECRETARY OF THE WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In studying the subject assigned for discussion this afternoon my thoughts have centered on four points as being of chief importance.

1. *The writer.* It has been suggested that the material for each county history might be gathered by a number of people, and that it might be put together by an expert brought into the county for that purpose. Now, if you will pardon my saying so, it seems to me that the result of such a compilation would lack one very important feature—an understanding love of the county. The writer of a county history should have a very real love for his county, should understand it and its people, and that understanding an outside expert, no matter how well equipped otherwise, could not be expected to bring to his work.

Of course love alone is not sufficient for the writer of history. He should have a fondness for research, accuracy, a good sense of proportion, skill in expression, and I should like to add one gift which is strangely lacking in many historians—the ability to see an incident from the standpoint of those who took part in it; not to judge it only by its results, not to weigh it by twentieth century standards, but to see it also through the eyes of the men and women to whom it was not history but a part of life.

2. *Material.* Very little can be done without material on which to work, so to begin with every county should have had the foresight to select as pioneer settlers men who kept good records! I admit that I do not see how failure in this respect is to be remedied now, but as I have read the diaries and minute books in the Salem Archives, to which our president has referred, I have greatly pitied the county whose records are only to be found in the courthouse. Deeds and mortgages, marriage licenses and wills, need to be supplemented by pictures of the daily life of the people, such as Wachovia has back to 1752.

3. *Sympathy.* In the third place, I would suggest that each county supply two or three people who will give the writer sympathetic interest. I do not mean an interest that is willing to attend a historical society meeting once a year to listen to a few papers, but an interest that is willing to talk things over at any and every time. For historical research is lonesome work! You sit hour after hour, day after day, digging in the dust of ages and not knowing what you will find. Perhaps you are reading a diary, the handwriting suddenly changes, and the next entry informs you that the preceding writer has been ill for several days and has just died with what is evidently typhus fever. And

you drop the book, and wish there was somebody by to assure you that the germs, too, have been dead for a hundred years. Or you are turning the pages of an ancient copy of the Acts of the North Carolina Assembly, you suddenly begin to sneeze, you realize that you have just made your first acquaintance with the snuff of your forefathers, but there is no one near to share your laugh! Or—if you will pardon one more reminiscence—sometimes you find a treasure. I was dusting and sorting a most uninteresting pile of old magazines when I suddenly found a package tied up in a newspaper, yellow with age and somewhat torn. Under the string was a sheet stating that these were papers used by Br. Traugott Bagge in the preparation of his sketch of the Revolutionary War. Some of you will remember that a few years ago a manuscript was found containing a reference to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and that by internal and collateral evidence I was able to prove that it was written by Traugott Bagge, merchant, of Salem, in 1783. And here I had suddenly stumbled on a package of the papers he had used, probably unopened since the day he tied the string! I stood it about fifteen minutes, then put on my hat and hurried off to find some one to rejoice with me, knowing full well that I would be met with the sympathy for which I am pleading for all our writers.

4. *Publication.* It would be a great incentive toward the writing of county histories if some provision could be made for their publication, for every writer wants an audience, and printer's bills mount up so alarmingly that many purses cannot stand the strain. It has been suggested that the Historical Commission might be able to have the histories printed, and if they are included in its regular volumes I would suggest that while the article is in type the author be allowed to have as many copies as he wishes struck off, he to pay for the extra paper and labor and for the binding. Or if the Commission could print them in separate volumes, and have the Commissioner of Education put them into the public schools of the counties of which they treat, the expense would be quickly covered. But if either of these plans is followed care should be taken that only satisfactory histories are accepted for publication. The Board of Editors, whose appointment has been suggested this afternoon, should pass upon the literary form, and I think for each history approved they should associate with themselves two or three well-informed citizens of the county under consideration, who would be competent to say whether from a local standpoint the work had been accurately done. For after all a county history to be successful must appeal to the people of that county, not as a compilation of valuable but dry facts but as the true, sympathetic, human story of its life since its beginning.

How Can We Secure the Writing of County Histories?

BY W. C. JACKSON, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE STATE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE.

Edmund Burke once said that "It generally argues some degree of natural impotence of mind, or some want of knowledge of the world, to hazard plans of government except from a seat of authority." The remark is applicable to plans other than those of government; and as I am about to hazard a plan of action, and that not from a seat of authority, the peculiar force of Burke's statement is keenly realized. Inasmuch, however, as my plan contains some features that have had authoritative sanction, I am encouraged to present it.

I am forbidden by my instructions, as well as by inclination, to indulge in a discussion of the importance of writing county histories, the character of the histories to be written, and the joys—or lack thereof—of this kind of work. My specific task is to talk about how to quit talking about getting this work done and actually get it done. And I shall attempt to confine myself to this task.

Let me say by way of approach to the details of the plan that there are certain facts that we will do well to keep steadfastly in mind. The first of these is that we must avoid the errors of the past, and prepare a different kind of history to those that we now have. This does not mean that all that has been done is bad. Far from it. Some of the work has been well done, but only a small part of it. This defective work of the past is due in large measure to the fact that those who did it, although imbued with a great love for their county and their work, were not trained in the writing of history. And by "trained" I do not mean to imply only college and university men. Many men have been trained for this work in other schools than colleges and universities. We want our future histories prepared by people who are thoroughly qualified to do it, however they may have acquired such qualifications.

We must also keep in mind the fact that our biggest problem at present is the collection of the material for these histories. In not a single county in the State, I dare say, is sufficient material in hand for the writing of the county's history. The collection of this material will be a long and arduous work; yet it is, of course, absolutely prerequisite to the accomplishment of the task ahead of us.

This means that it will be a long time before our plans may come to fruition. It is necessary to possess our souls of much patience as we contemplate the work before us.

One other fact should be kept in mind, namely, that while we should endeavor to promote this work in every county in the State by enlisting interest in preserving material and otherwise furthering the movement, we should concentrate our immediate efforts upon a few of the most important counties, when every minute of delay means a loss.

I beg to submit to the consideration of this Association the following plan as a tentative program for actually bringing to pass some of the ideas we are discussing: That the North Carolina Historical Commission appoint a sub-committee or sub-commission, consisting of three members, whose duty it shall be to do definite and specific work in the matter of securing the writing of county histories. I beg leave to suggest some of the work that this committee might undertake.

1. *Preparation and publication of a pamphlet or bulletin on county history.*

This should discuss the scope and character of a county history; give a good outline; describe material, source, secondary, etc.; give suggestions as to where and how to get material, and what to do with it after it is secured, etc., etc. This would serve as an excellent guide for all our work, and would tend toward a certain degree of uniformity. It would undoubtedly give great impetus to this work throughout the State. It might also serve to prevent younger counties making the errors of our fathers, by getting them started on the problem now, and perhaps some of them would accomplish something.

2. *The organization of county historical associations.*

I believe that a large part of the task of collecting the material for our county histories, and the financing of the work, can and ought to be done through county associations. Let members of this committee either go themselves or secure good representatives to go to various counties and assist in the organization of these associations, or give encouragement and assistance to existing associations.

There are a number of things such an association could do. First, through fees, private subscriptions, coöperation with city and county boards of commissioners, and otherwise, it can finance this work, both in the collection of material and the publication of the completed work. I do not believe that it will be difficult to get a real good book published.

Another thing it can do is to aid in the collection of material. Many people who have good material in their possession are very chary about parting with it. It will often be possible for a local person to secure valuable material when the State itself or any other collector could never get it. There is an abundance of uncollected matter such as letters, pictures, deeds, wills, land grants, pamphlets, etc., etc., in every old county that should be collected and properly preserved. I am con-

vinced that a good association through its membership could get much of this material.

Again, the participation in such a work by a large number of people possesses an educational value to the entire community, for the entire county might be more or less interested and helped.

3. *Enlisting the coöperation of all libraries in the State, public and private, especially in the preservation of material.*

After all, it is largely through our libraries that this work must be done; and at present some of the libraries are not alive to the importance of saving material. Every library in the State, in so far as it can, ought to save every piece of printed matter that comes into its hands.

4. *In securing well-trained men to act as editors-in-chief of these histories, with assistant editors.*

This is my idea: Most of the men in this State capable of writing a good county history are too busy to do it. But some of them are not too busy to superintend the work. If such men could be given the assistance of the Historical Commission, of live county associations, and associates who could do special portions of the work, they would agree to act as editors-in-chief. I believe these associates can be secured. Some person who cannot write the county's history may be able to write its religious, social, educational, political or economic history. One might have the ability, the time, and the inclination under such circumstances to undertake some part of this work, but would not do more than this particular part. With an editor-in-chief, all such work might be effected and correlated properly, and the entire work in time brought to successful accomplishment.

I believe that the colleges of the State, also, can and will participate in this work. Guilford, Trinity, and Wake Forest could get the religious history, for example, of some counties. The economic history of a number of counties could surely be worked out at the State University. I can vouch for some of this work being done at the State Normal College.

This, very briefly and very generally, is the plan I beg to submit for your consideration. As to the possibility of its fulfillment, permit me to say that one of the best historians in the State gave me the assurance that under such a plan he would undertake to act as an editor-in-chief. From conversations with interested individuals in my own county, I am persuaded that, barring the finding of a better way, this plan could be successfully carried out. I entertain the hope that out of our common counsel there may come some definite and practical plan of immediate action.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH CAROLINA LITERATURE

The Projected History of North Carolina Literature

By President Archibald Henderson.

On December 4, 1912, I had the honor to propose the following resolution at the thirteenth annual session of this body—a resolution which was formally adopted:

> That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to consider the problem of our State literature, and to endeavor to secure the person or persons best qualified by reason of talent and aptitude, to prepare a history of the literature of North Carolina.

This program today is arranged in furtherance of that plan. We are met together to take brief inventory of North Carolina's literary contribution. It is not our purpose to prove that North Carolina was first at Parnassus, furthest on Pegasus, and last at the Pierian Spring. We desire, primarily, not to praise, but to appraise, accurately and judiciously, the work of North Carolina writers throughout our history—in historical writing, in fiction, in oratory, in balladry, and in poetry. The general subject of criticism, of the essay, and of miscellaneous prose covers a field too vast to be surveyed within the limits of our program.

It cannot be doubted that North Carolina's literary output has never been appreciated, has not as yet even been known or realized—since it has never been presented *en masse*. Any State in the Union might well be proud of an honor roll which includes such names, in history and biography, as Ashe, Bassett, Battle, Boyd, Cheshire, Connor, Hamilton, Haywood, Nash, Poe, Raper, Taylor, and Weeks—all living; in fiction, as Thomas Dixon, O. Henry, Christian Reid, Margaret Busbee Shipp, and Albion W. Tourgee; in poetry, as John Henry Boner, Mary Bayard Clarke, Edwin W. Fuller, Theophilus H. Hill, John Charles McNeill, Benjamin Sledd, Henry Jerome Stockard; in the field of the orator and the publicist, as Edwin A. Alderman, Hinton Rowan Helper, Walter H. Page; in criticism and the essay, Irwin Avery, Herman Harrell Horne, Edwin Mims, Charles Alphonso Smith.

A deeply felt need in North Carolina is the need for a "History of North Carolina Writers and Writings." I desire above all things touching our literary life that this conference today may have tangible results in a volume or series of volumes, scholarly in treatment, critical

in tone, presenting in an orderly and dignified way the true history of the literature of North Carolina.

When that task is accomplished and the literary contribution of North Carolina made known to all, we may rest assured that, in the course of time, North Carolina writers will find their true place, high or low—whatever it may truly be—in the history of American literature.

Henry Jerome Stockard

By James Y. Joyner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

From his home in Raleigh, September 4, 1914, the soul of Henry Jerome Stockard, teacher, scholar, poet, gentleman, "drifted out to the great Unknown." The story of his earthly life could be briefly told and would differ but little from that of thousands of others in this matter-of-fact world. It is the story of his inner life—his soul-life, with which we are most concerned; and this we must seek in the songs he sung in the interludes between the scenes of his busy life of toil that left all too little leisure for the full cultivation and use of his rare gift of poesy. The poet's poetry, after all, is his real life, and through that he makes his deathless contribution to the deathless in the life of his fellows; and Henry Jerome Stockard was a poet, a born-poet, a poet whose genius and art were recognized by the leading literary magazines of the country and appreciated by the best poets and critics of poetry of his time.

For convenience in this brief study, I have roughly classified his poetry according to subject-matter and content into five general classes:

I. Poems of Occasion and Patriotism.

II. Poems of Meditation and Sentiment.

III. Poems of Faith, Trust and Spiritual Yearning.

IV. Poems of Nature—Nature Lyrics.

V. Miscellaneous Sonnets and Songs.

I shall content myself with the selection and interpretation of a few representative poems of each of these classes.

It was ever my custom as a teacher of English literature not to talk about the poem and the poet, but to seek by reading aloud to give vocal interpretation of what the poem meant to me, and then let the poem speak for itself and the poet bring his own spiritual message through the reader as a sympathetic medium to the soul of the student.

This, I believe, to be the only true way to teach poetry and to inspire an appreciation and a love of it in others. With your permission I shall pursue this method in this study with you of Stockard's poetry. When you study his or another's poetry, read it aloud, for poetry is thought and feeling set to music, and you miss the music unless you give it vocal interpretation, as you miss the music of any other great song when you but silently read the black notes of the printed page. I detest poetical dissection and anatomy. "The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive."

I. POEMS OF OCCASION AND PATRIOTISM.

Stockard was preëminently the Poet Laureate of his State and his people. His love of both throbs in many of his noblest poems of Occasion and Patriotism. His gift of song was first of all consecrated to the service and pleasure of his own State and her people. He was ever ready upon request to lay his muse under tribute for the public celebration of any notable event in the history of his State and for fittingly honoring the memory and deeds of her illustrious sons. Among the poems illustrative of this first class may be mentioned "The Centennial Sonnet"—prepared for the centennial celebration of the University of North Carolina, the poems read at the unveiling of the McIver monument and of the Horne monument to the Women of the Confederacy. Perhaps, however, the most notable of the poems of this class is "The Last Charge at Appomattox":

Scarred on a hundred fields before,
Naked and starved and travel-sore,
  Each man a tiger, hunted,
They stood at bay, as brave as Huns,
Last of the Old South's splendid sons,
Flanked by ten thousand shotted guns,
  And by ten thousand fronted.

Scorched by the cannon's molten breath,
They'd climbed the trembling walls of death
  And set their standards tattered—
Had charged at the bugle's stirring blare
Through bolted gloom and godless glare
From the dead's reddened gulches, where
  The searching shrapnel shattered.

They formed—that Carolina band—
With Grimes, the Spartan, in command,
  And, at the word of Gordon,
Through splintered fire and stifling smoke—
They struck with lightning's scathing stroke
Those doomed and desperate men—and broke
  Across that iron cordon.

They turned in sullen, slow retreat,—
Ah, there are laurels of defeat!—
  Turned for the Chief had spoken;
With one last shot hurled back the foe,
And prayed the trump of doom to blow,
Now that the Southern stars were low,
  The Southern bars were broken.

Some time the calm, impartial years,
Will tell what made them dead to tears
Of loved ones left to languish;—
What nerved them for the lonely guard,
For cleaving blade and mangling shard,
What gave them strength in tent and ward
To drain the dregs of anguish.

But the far ages will propound
What never Sphinx had lore to sound—
Why in such fires of rancor,
The God of Love should find it meet
For Him, with Grant as sledge, to beat
On Lee, the anvil, at such heat,
Our Nation's great sheet anchor.

In this poem he has reached the high-water mark of patriotic lyrics and has celebrated the heroism of these sons of Carolina in an immortal song that the impartial judgment of posterity will, in my opinion, rank with Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade" and other great lyrics of patriotism of all time.

II. POEMS OF MEDITATION AND SENTIMENT.

Among the characteristic and beautiful poems of this second class may be mentioned "My Pipe":—

When the summer breeze steals thro' the trees
And the sickle moon is low;
When o'er the hills the whippoorwill's
Clear flutings come and go;
When the katydid, in the tree-top hid,
Calls ever across the dark,
And down the marsh where the frogs sing harsh
The fire-fly lights its spark,—

Then the golden crumbs for me!
My pipe and reverie!
The voices grand from childhood's land,
And the scenes that used to be!

When the days are cold, and o'er the wold
The winds of winter sweep;
When darkness falls, and upon the walls
The shadows dance and leap;
When the full moon shines thro' the snow-capped pines
Where the midnight witches brew,
While the embers die and the great owls cry
Their weird "tu-whit, tu-whoo!"—

Then my pipe and the crumbs of gold!
And the future's gates unfold!
Thro' the lifting haze rise the braver days
That the untried seasons hold!

A CHRISTMAS MEMORY.

The hour is late, the fire is low,
And eery winds from northlands' snow
Around the eaves are moaning;
A spirit roams the world tonight
From land to land, in silent flight,
As fast as flies the dawning.

The snow is tinkling through my blinds;
The owls, hid in the hooded pines,
Their dolorous greetings render;
Back into other years I steal—
A child, at mother's knee I feel
That gracious hand and tender!

I hear— and how my bosom swells!
I hear the neighboring village bells,
Blent with the tempest's booming;
Out in the whirling snow I hear
The muffled tramp of nimble deer—
Old Santa Claus is coming!

The rockets mount with trails of fire
O'er roof and elm and lofty spire—
Up, up to skyward winging;
Thank God for Christmas! Man ne'er grows
So old but that he loves the snows,
And bells of Christmas ringing!

III. POEMS OF FAITH, TRUST AND SPIRITUAL YEARNING.

Illustrative of this third class are:

THE PRAYER OF LIFE.

Lead me, O God! in life's brave early day
While skies are clear and all the world is gay;
So many hurtful blooms my vision greet!
So many paths diverge to lure my feet
Far from thy peaceful, sinless road astray!

And when the morning can no longer stay,
And songs are mute, and noontide's fervent ray
Upon the weary track must fiercely beat,
Lead me, O God!

Nor leave me when the eventide shall lay
Upon life's happy fields its vapors gray:—
Clasp then my hand in thine more close and sweet
Than thou hast ever held it; and, while fleet
The night is falling, down the unknown way
Lead me, O God!

As Some Mysterious Wanderer of the Skies.

As some mysterious wanderer of the skies,
Emerging from the deeps of outer dark,
Traces for once in human ken the arc
Of stupendous curve, then swiftly flies
Out through some orbit veiled in space, which lies
Where no imagination may embark,—
Some onward-reaching track that God did mark
For all eternity beneath his eyes,—
So comes the soul forth from creation's vast;
So clothed with mystery moves through mortal sight;
Then sinks away into the Great Unknown.
What systems it hath seen in all the past,
What worlds shall blaze upon its future flight,
Thou knowest, eternal God, and Thou alone!

The Hand That Binds the Star.

The Hand that binds the star
In its far center, and around it rolls
Through space its worlds, with never halt nor jar,
No less my steps controls.

That same unfailing Hand
Hath led me forth from still eternity,
'Twill guide me onward through star-vistas and
I follow trustingly.

Confusing Cries.

"Past the night's shadows,
Onward, far onward,
Lies the day's glory
Somewhere to sunward!"

"Past the day's splendor,
All things diurnal
Merge into blackness,
Mournful, eternal!"

* * * * * * *

Low lies the darkness
O'er hill and river—
Earth-thrown!—and upward,
Morning forever!

Confusing cries indeed, but the dominant note is divinely optimistic.

IV. POEMS OF NATURE—NATURE LYRICS.

As illustrative of the fourth class I have selected

A LULLABY.

Tonight, embedded deep and warm,
Beyond the reach of sifting snow,
The cows are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow.
Blow, winds, blow!
O'er land and ocean go!
The cows are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow!

Beneath the ermined pine trees warm,
The eaves with icicles a-row,
The birds are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow.
Blow, winds, blow!
O'er land and ocean go!
The birds are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow!

Beside the blazing ingle warm,
Bathed in the firelight's ruddy glow,
My child is sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow.
Blow, winds, blow!
O'er land and ocean go!
My child is sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow!

In this charming and all but perfect little nature-lyric he has caught and expressed in melodious lines for the delectation of men of tuneful soul the wailing music of the winter winds.

AN EVENING SONG.

The late dove hurtles through the dark,—
Good-night!
The fire-fly strikes its spectral spark,
Comes o'er the hill the watch-dog's bark,
The cows come lowing up the lane,
And homeward comes the lumbering wain,—
Good-night, good-night!

Earth calls her weary ones to rest,—
Good-night!
The sickle moon sinks down the west,
The shadows veil the mountain's crest,
The fires burn low where sunk the sun,
To sleep! The long, long day is done,—
Good-night, good-night!

Where will you find a more peaceful picture of the close of day in the country? With a few strokes of the wizard wand of a true poet he conjures up the scenes through objects inseparably associated with sunset and twilight in the country—"the belated dove," "the fire-fly with its spectral spark," "the barking watch-dog," "the lowing cows," "the lumbering wain homeward bound," "the sickle moon," "the setting sun," "the gathering shadows." The music of his verse is artistically attuned to the softly dying sounds of evening until you feel at last the silence of the darkness falling upon the world—"Good-night; good-night!"

THE AMERICAN EAGLE.

This is an exquisite bit of masterful description and of felicitous and delicately tinted diction—a sort of poetical mosaic work. It is a fine example of adaptation of sound to sense, what the rhetoricians call onomatopoeia. Observe the fine effects of the following: "preens," "thunder shocks," "scream of shells," "shriek," "his wings whiz," "his claws gride," "his beak doth tear," "glares," "with sun-outstaring eyes."

The freedom, the fierceness, the boldness, the courage of the untamed and untamable spirit of the eagle are incarnated in this little poem symbolic of the spirit of the United States.

The American Eagle.

Brooded on crags, his down the rocks,
He holds the skies for his domain:
Serene he preens where thunder shocks
And rides the hurricane.

The scream of shells is in his shriek;
As swords, his wings whiz down the air;
His claws, as bayonets, gride; his beak,
As shrapnel-shards, doth tear.

Where Shasta shapes its mighty cone,
Where Mitchell heaves into the skies,
Silent he glares, austere, alone,
With sun-outstaring eyes!

V. MISCELLANEOUS SONNETS AND SONGS.

Stockard perhaps excelled all his contemporaries as a writer of sonnets, and in the opinion of many competent critics some of his sonnets are among the best in the language. Notable among these are his sonnets on

SHAKESPEARE.

He heard the Voice that spake and unafraid,
  Beheld at dawning of primeval light
  The systems flame to being, move in flight
Unmeasured, unimagined and unstayed.
He stood at nature's evening and surveyed
  Dissolved worlds—saw uncreated night
  About the universe's depth and height
Slowly and silently forever laid.
Down the pale avenues of death he trod
  And trembling gazed on scenes of hate that chilled
  His blood, and for a breath his pulses stilled,—
Then clouds from sun-bright shores a moment rolled
And blinded glimpsed he One with thunder shod
Crowned with the stars, and with the morning stoled!

HOMER.

That conjuring name doth change the centuries,
And the enchanted pagan world restore!
  Old Triton and the Nereids sport before
Poseidon's chariot storming down the seas.
Pan blows his mellow reed, and to the breeze
  The nautilus unfurls his sail once more;
  While silver voices wake the waters o'er
'Mid asphodels on Anthemusia's leas.
I hear the Odyssey and Iliad rise
  With deeper rhythm than that of Chios' surge,
  And there upon the blue Ægean's verge,
  Unchanging while the centuries increase,
After three thousand years, before me lies
  The unveiled shore of old sea-cinctured Greece.

IMAGINATION.

Back through the chaos of the primal past,
  Upon unfailing wings she takes her flight,
  Or sounds the future's universal night
'Mid worlds to elements resolved at last.
The gates of death unclose and down the vast
  Cloud-builded stairs she faces shapes that fright,
  Or wanders through Elysium's fields of light—
For she would fain all pang, all bliss forecast!—
  But she shall never on life's bourne—ah me!
If ever on that distant unknown shore!—
  Preen her adventurous pinions to explore
The date of Him before whose veiled face
  The universe, with its eternity,
Is but a mote, a moment poised in space!

The Unattained.

The marble, bosomed in the mountain hoar,
  Holds in its heart, waiting some hand most skilled,
  Forms featured fairer yet than that which thrilled
And moved beneath Pygmalion's touch of yore.
The instrument's keys await a grander score
  Than that whose faintest echoes, haply, chilled
  Mozart with rapture, and an instant stilled
His breath, then died away forevermore.
There is a scene no painter ever feigned,
  Of Eden's restful fields—lost visions loved!—
  Dead shores where tempests hoarse, Titanic roll;
A song unsung more sweet than that which chained
  The heart of Hades' King—than ever moved
  The subtlest chord of Shakespeare's lofty soul.

Mollusks.

Down where the bed of oceans sinks profound,
  Lodged in the clefts and caverns of the deep
  Where silence and eternal darkness keep,
These dumb primordial living forms abound.
What know they of this life in the vast round
Of earth and air? How wild the pulses leap
At love's sweet dream—what storms of sorrows sweep,
What hopes allure us and what terrors hound?
And scattered on these slopes and plains below
  This atmospheric sea, one with the worm
  And beetle, for a momentary term—
  What know we more of those ethereal spheres—
What rapture may be there, what poignant woe,
  What towering passions, and what high careers?

Even the most insignificant of God's creation hidden deepest from the eye of man can bring to his poet's heart and imagination thoughts that lie too deep for tears. This poem will not suffer by comparison with Holmes' famous "Chambered Nautilus," and I am not sure but that it excels it in depth of spiritual suggestion.

Through these representative poems of the different sorts of his poetry, I have sought to let the poet interpret himself, because I believe this to be the best, and, in fact, the only way to understand and to appreciate any poet. I commend to all of you that love real literature a further study of Stockard's poetry. It will well repay you. I am ashamed through all my being that I did not appreciate and enjoy him more while he lived, because I had not studied him more. I expect my experience is that of most of you and of most other North Carolinians. It is the melancholy fate of most real poets to be neglected by their own generation, to have to wait for another generation for that appreciation

which they need so much and for which their sensitive souls so yearn while living. The sad consciousness of this may in part account for that undertone of sadness that is rarely absent from Stockard's poetry, or from the greatest poetry of any true poet. "Our sweetest songs are ever those that tell of saddest thought."

"Fugitive Lines," issued in 1897, is the only collection in permanent form of Stockard's poems. Many of his best poems were written after that. Of these there is no collection in permanent form and many of them will be lost unless some steps are taken to preserve them in such form. I am informed that the poet at the time of his death had about completed arrangements for the issuance of a new volume of his poems. This Association can undertake no worthier and more serviceable task than that of guaranteeing the publication of this volume. I feel sure that a committee could easily secure enough subscribers to cover the expense of its publication. In his essay on Burns, Carlyle has truly said: "A true poet, a man in whose heart resides some effluence of wisdom, some tone of the 'Eternal Melodies,' is the most precious gift that can be bestowed upon a generation."

In conclusion, I beg simply to call attention to some of the characteristics of Stockard's poetry illustrated, as you must have observed for yourselves, in the few representative poems of his read in your hearing today. Seriousness, sometimes sadness, a tender melancholy like that of one whose eye keepeth constant watch over man's mortality, a purity like that of one who constantly and effectually prayeth to the Pure God, "Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in Thy sight," a loftiness that often rises to sublimity: these are among the fine characteristics of his poetry, that give permanency and charm to it and mark him as a true poet.

Like Burns and Whittier, he has the poet's gift to see the beauty in commonplace things, sometimes where no eye before has seen it, to hear music in commonplace sounds—the hoot of the owl, the croak of the frog, the plaint of the whippoorwill—to catch and voice the echoes of those eternal melodies with which the universe is filled for those whose spiritual ears are not stopped with clay. Many of his lines show a remarkable mastery of melody, and many of his stanzas of that rarer and more difficult gift of exquisite rythm. How graphic and artistic are some of his bits of description! How apt and finished at times his style; showing the unconscious influence of his scholarly study of the Greek and Roman classics and of his daily communion with the masters of English literature!

Henry Jerome Stockard was a genuine poet. He followed the gleam,

> The Light that never was on Sea or Land,
> The consecration and the Poet's Dream.

The North Carolina Historians

By Stephen B. Weeks.

I have been asked to discuss books rather than men, and, so far as possible, to consider them as literature rather than as history. This paper, then, while in part a history of historical writing in North Carolina will emphasize as much as may be the literary and artistic merits of our general historians. It will be confined to the general historians for the reason that the importance and dignity of their subject lends itself more to literary treatment and because the source writers and monographers, intent mainly on results, have been all too careless of form.

No student of this subject, however, could fail to mention Lawson's History of North Carolina, which is both literature and a source book for much of our natural and Indian history. In brightness, vivacity and quickness of apprehension his Journal of a Thousand Miles Travel need not fear comparison with any similar journal. In the same way the Correspondence of James Iredell and the Correspondence and Public Papers of Archibald D. Murphey will hold their own in the matter of grace and elegance of diction and in sustained interest when weighed against other productions. In the Colonial and State Records also are many striking and eloquent passages which show that their authors were neither rude nor illiterate, but men who knew their mother tongue and could use it with force and power.

The writers on special phases of our history really fill a larger space in the historical writings of the State than have those who have entered upon the larger field for they have been more in number and their contributions more numerous.

They divide naturally into two classes. The ante-bellum period is represented by such books as Jones' "Defence," Foote's "Sketches," Caruthers' "David Caldwell" and his "Old North State." Since the war have appeared in this class Bernheim's "Lutheran Settlements," Hunter's "Western North Carolina," Schenck's "North Carolina in 1780-81," Waddell's "A Colonial Officer" and similar books. These writers were strong in presentation, but sometimes weak on facts. They were picturesque and imaginative; they had a feeling that history might be literature even if they were not able to attain that goal. They sought to be interesting and perhaps sometimes sacrificed exactness to form, but nevertheless their purpose was to impart information, not

merely to please with an artistic presentation. The scant literature of that day grew into history rather than into fiction, facts were even with them more than form.

With the revival of letters which is following after the revival of material prosperity there has been a marked advance in the character of the published historical studies. A number of students who have entered the field of local history have had the advantage of modern training in historical methods. Indeed all recent writers have come more or less under the influence of the modern spirit. Unfortunately, however, no one of these scholars has yet ventured into a field wider than that required for the monograph. No one of them has tried his talents in the broader and more general field of State history as a whole. Their historical work, as published, is far in advance of that of their ante-bellum prototypes in completeness of material used, in order, system, clearness of presentation and impartiality of judgment. They are far better writers of history but with them facts are everything, form is nothing, and it may be seriously questioned if their books are up to the standard of the older writers as literary models.

As already intimated, the monograph covers practically the whole historical output of the men who have had modern historical training. These studies reflect clearly the vices of the German school in which they have been trained. Laborious and sometimes painfully accurate, they have been often small minded; in the letter of accuracy they have lost the spirit of history; they have written from a local and not from a world point of view, and they have not always escaped the perils of the new historical method: Excessive devotion to the letter of the documentary material; the absence or the suppression of the historical imagination; belief in von Ranke's theory that it is merely the office of the historian to give facts, that it is not his duty to adorn a tale, point a moral or preach a sermon; sometimes a lack of perspective and in particular a fear that power over language or literary style may call down the awful anathema of being "unscientific" has made many writers of the modern school seek to produce work that is merely scientific and learnedly dull, rather than work that might lay claim to some of the charms of literature.

I would emphasize that this has been a marked tendency with most of the history writers of the last generation. In no sense is it the special mark of our own writers. Much of their work I would willingly put into the scale against similar work done in other States, but the excellencies and the strength of their volumes is in general in their value as history, rather than in their attractiveness as literature.

Those who have undertaken studies covering the whole chronological

life of the State may be divided into two groups: (1) The text-book writers, and (2) those who have undertaken more detailed and serious work.

I. The text-book writers.

Eight persons have undertaken the preparation of books on the history of North Carolina for use in the schools.

Wiley, 1851;
Moore, 1879;
Spencer, 1889;
Alderman, 1896;
Allen, 1901;
McCorkle, 1903;
Connor, 1907;
Hill, 1907.

Taken all in all these school histories have been rather more successful than their more pretentious rivals. Wiley published his Historical Sketches as a part of his very successful and well known "North Carolina Reader, No. 3."[1] It was a well-proportioned, well-written survey of the whole State, prepared for the use of the general reader, but coming no later than the Revolution. Considering the sources then available Dr. Wiley presented a remarkably good picture of the colony. Exceedingly democratic in his own views his main purpose was educational. He wished to make North Carolinians better acquainted with their own State and with each other. In this he succeeded admirably. He seems to have caught the spirit of the State and to have been able to interpret that spirit far better than it had been done before. In this respect he was as fortunate as Bancroft who in the same way caught the spirit of the rising nation and gained thereby an immense popularity and enduring fame. Dr. Wiley emphasized his purpose still further by adding to his historical narrative many extracts, both in prose and verse, from the work of local writers. The result more than justified the author's hopes. The North Carolina Reader reached a circulation of 6,000 copies in two years; it went through five or six editions; along with Wheeler's History it attained a circulation and an influence which apparently no other State publication has ever reached. These two books entered into and became a part of the life of the people and more nearly than any others were they found at every fireside; they were the local literary and historical pabulum on which that generation of North Carolinians was fed; their influence was great and would have been greater but for war. The "Reader" even survived the war for a new edition was issued as late as 1874. It exerted a quiet but immense influence in creating and fostering a new spirit among the masses

[1] Wiley, Calvin H.: The North Carolina Reader (Philadelphia, 1851).

and no greater educational service could be rendered the State in this generation than the careful compilation of a similar volume, with an interpretative sketch of the life of the people and with extracts from the best native writers, the whole work being based on a wide knowledge of the past, a philosophical insight into the relations of cause and effect, an extended knowledge of the literature of the State and an appreciation of what is worth while in that literature.

The disastrous effects of war and Reconstruction forbade other essays in the field of school text-books in history for a generation. Of the next two within this class little need be said. Moore[2] published his School History (1879) before the issue of the first volumes of the Colonial Records and Mrs. Spencer[3] just after (1889). These books are both impossible being swallowed up in utter dreariness. Nothing can be more deadening to the child mind with its budding interest in the history of things local than to be plunged into the dry as dust recital of these little volumes when in the hands of a teacher who knows only the history she can get from their pages.

Indeed the writer of a school history of North Carolina is under peculiar disadvantage. The glory of the State is that it has always stood for the steady development of constitutional liberty and always opposed oppression. Woe to the writer who fails to discover this golden thread in our history, and yet it is not one that lends itself readily to brief and attractive treatment for youthful minds. To them the everlasting struggle for constitutional liberty, the orderly evolution of a governmental system based exclusively on the will of the governed, the "respect for chartered rights and resistance to unjust authority," make but small appeal. Children turn rather to the personal, the individual, the tangible, the heroic. Their appeal is from men of action, not from men of thought; they are doers, not thinkers; it is the mountain peak, the romantic, the picturesque, the *Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens cui lumen ademptum* that calls. I can imagine no worse fate for a child, historically speaking, than to be put into a book which does not make this call, and the number of books in the schools which fail at this point is legion, with a teacher who is without imagination, philosophical insight or extensive historical knowledge. Such combinations have done much to destroy historical interest and to crush developing fondness for the past. Poor texts and poor teachers are greater enemies of history than indifference and neglect.

Dr. Alderman's History[4] was a mere sketch written with the lightest touch. He commands mention, however, because of his accuracy in in-

[2]Moore, John W.: School History of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1879).
[3]Spencer, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips: First Steps in North Carolina History (Raleigh, 1889).
[4]Alderman, Edwin A.: A brief History of North Carolina (Boston, 1896).

terpreting the real spirit which has always animated the people of the State.

In school histories the present century has been prolific. Four different writers have undertaken in five different books to present phases of the subject. None of these are without excellencies. Mr. Allen[5] and Mrs. McCorkle[6] sought to select and tell with detail the story of the more striking events in the State's life. Mr. Connor[7] has told these events in the form of a continuous narrative and has also given some of the more important a personal association in the form of brief biographies in his Makers of North Carolina History. The most recent and fullest of all the school histories of the State is the volume by President D. H. Hill,[8] whose work rather surpasses the limits of the ordinary school history and may be counted a connecting link between the briefer and the larger books. It presents an interesting and valuable running narrative of the life of the State; is generally accurate in its statements, is entertaining and readable, and should make a strong appeal by reason of its smooth and well told story.

II. THE STATE HISTORIANS AND THEIR WORK AS LITERATURE.

We have now come to a consideration of the eight men who have undertaken to present to the State extended studies of its past. They are thus distinguished from the source writers, from the monographers and from the writers of school histories. They are:

Williamson, 1812;
Martin, 1829;
Murphey, 1825-32;
Wheeler, 1851;
Hawks, 1857-58;
Moore, 1880;
Heitman, 1884-85 and 1897-98;
Ashe, 1908.

Of these eight, one (Murphey) got no further than a most admirable outline. The work of the other seven varies in amount from the thin octavos of Williamson and the short chapters of Heitman to the stout octavo of Ashe with its 748 pages and the two volumes of Hawks with 845 pages. Only one of the eight (Moore) brought his work down to his own day. Williamson got only to the Revolution; this was also the sea mark of Martin and Heitman and practically such for Wheeler, while Hawks stops with 1729 and Ashe with 1783. The school history

[5]Allen, William C.: North Carolina History Stories (Richmond, 1901).
[6]McCorkle, Mrs. Lutie Andrews: Old Time Stories of the Old North State (Boston, 1903).
[7]Connor, R. D. W.: The Story of the Old North State (Philadelphia, 1907); Makers of North Carolina History (Raleigh, 1911).
[8]Hill, Daniel Harvey: Young People's History of North Carolina (Charlotte, 1907).

writers, not having to cover the field so intensively, all brought their work down to the time of publication with the exception of Wiley, who also stops with the Revolution.

The first formal historian of North Carolina was Hugh Williamson,[9] a native of Pennsylvania. He published his work in 1812, 149 years after the permanent organization of government in Albemarle and a generation after the close of the Revolution, all of which shows that the energy and life of the colony and State had been spent in breaking the wilderness and in driving out the enemies of constitutional liberty. The men of Carolina were doers, not thinkers, and lacking a compact, closely knit town organization those who devoted themselves to the spiritual and intellectual necessities of our people were so few in numbers and were so oppressed with distances that they had no time to study the records of the past as those who were laboring in similar fields in New England were so successfully doing.

Dr. Williamson was a resident of North Carolina from about 1777 to 1793. He lived in Edenton, then an intellectual center; he came into contact with the leaders; he was in the Legislature; was a member of the old Continental Congress and of the Federal Convention of 1787, and as such signed the new Federal Constitution; returning to North Carolina, he defended it before the people and was later a member of the new Federal Congress. Notwithstanding these excellent opportunities to master the contemporaneous history of the State, he concludes his history with 1776, just at the time when he was himself becoming an original authority and when he might have spoken with the assurance and certainty of a man who had played no subordinate part. For the next twenty-five years he might have almost written the history of North Carolina as his own autobiography, but instead of describing the things he had seen and been he wasted his talents on an imperfect narrative of a period of which even the sources were then practically unknown.

Without historical training or imagination, without enthusiasm or philosophical insight, Dr. Williamson drones on through his two beautifully printed and typographically artistic volumes with their small rivulet of print meandering through a wide meadow of margin. His history, however, is not entirely without merit, even if he is often a partisan and bitterly hostile to that spirit of democracy which is always and everywhere visible in the history of colonial Carolina and which has made our State largely what it is. His book shows everywhere a strong moral sense, a rugged honesty, a desire to award justice and to punish wrong. Williamson would never have written the colorless type of history advocated by von Ranke, but before the days of Lord Acton

[9]Williamson, Hugh: The History of North Carolina (Philadelphia, 1812, 2 vols.)

preached his doctrine—that it is the duty of the historian to reward with everlasting infamy the doers of wrong. Furthermore, his work will by no means rank lowest in literary form. It is written in terse, vigorous English, impersonal, reserved, controlled and free from the flamboyant oratory which sometimes disfigures the pages of Hawks. After errors in interpretation his main fault seems to be in arrangement and form. Had his work been better arranged, with chapter analysis and section headings, it would have been easier reading and would have left a more lasting impression, even if his facts are not always the most important and best chosen or his perspective as it should be.

The excellencies of Williamson's narrative are brought into further relief by contrast with the History of Francis Xavier Martin[10] published in 1829. Martin reproduces the vices but not the virtues of the earlier book. He covers the same period; writes from the same sources but not so well. He says that his material was collected and the work written before he left North Carolina in 1809. It was published twenty years later with evident additions but apparently without corrections. It has perhaps less to commend it than any other book ever printed on the history of the State. It did not come down to date; it is cast substantially in the form of chronological annals, but without their conciseness and accuracy and is utterly without literary style.

Although so grave and dull this compiler did not hesitate to misrepresent or change the meaning of original sources for the purpose of supporting a theory of his own, as I have elsewhere shown. Critics have sometimes expressed their belief in the trustworthiness of his facts and his industry in gathering them. Two examples will show us the value of their faith: The first newspaper in North Carolina was published by James Davis in December, 1755. Now Martin was himself a printer and publisher in New Bern for more than twenty years; he published a newspaper there; it is entirely possible that he actually used Davis's press; if not acquainted with Davis himself he certainly knew members of his family; it is altogether likely that he had seen copies of the old *North Carolina Gazette* of 1755, yet he is so insufferably careless as to say in his History that the *North Carolina Magazine* of 1764 was the first periodical in the colony. Again, the compilers of the Revised Statutes of 1837 complain in the sharpest language of the blunders both of omission and of commission perpetrated in his compilation of the British Statutes in 1792. Martin had excused himself by saying that he had no guide from which he might learn what had been a part of the law of the colony, and all this apparently in perfect ignorance of the act of 1749 which carefully enumerated what British statutes should in the opinion of the colonial assembly be counted a part of the funda-

[10]Martin, Francis Xavier: The History of North Carolina (New Orleans, 1829, 2 vols.).

mental law of the province. With these examples of aggravated carelessness and ignorance before me my deliberate conclusion is that no statement of Martin, either in his text or in his preface, on any disputed question is worthy of further consideration.

The other name belonging to that generation of historians is that of Archibald D. Murphey,[11] who is admitted to this list because of promise given. In 1825 he presented to the assembly an outline of a proposed history on the most extended plan. It was to be based entirely on source materials which were to be collected by him with the aid of the State. The work itself was to extend to six or eight volumes and was to be far more than a political history of the type of his predecessors. It was to have been a social history, a history of culture, in the widest sense. It was his purpose to discuss the age of discovery and the aboriginal period, to present in detail the history of the colonial period and to follow that with a similar consideration of the life of the State from 1776 to his own day. He would also consider the physical geography and soil, the climate and meteorology, the geology and mineralogy and the botany of the State as well as the various phases of the political and intellectual, religious and economic life. His plan is magnificent in scope, bold in outline and touching in its child-like hope that an assembly of that day might perhaps rise equal to the occasion and support the plans and labors of the enthusiastic scholar. But Murphey was ahead of his time. The assembly gave no aid; no collection of sources was then undertaken and none of his history, with the exception of a few brief sections, was ever written. Murphey died a broken and disappointed man, yet he set in motion events that finally resulted in the compilation and publication of that body of colonial and State records the completion of which we are now celebrating. Verily Murphey builded better than he knew and the published series of our Records is his everlasting monument.

After the publication of Martin in 1829 almost a generation passed before the appearance of another book on the general subject. This appears to be the law of life; every generation seems to demand the interpretation of its past in the light of its present experience. Wheeler's "Historical Sketches"[12] appeared in 1851. Only by courtesy can it be called a history; when measured by historical scholarship and literary form it has been aptly characterized as a jumble of ill-digested material. The colonial period is written in the form of a more or less orderly narrative and is confined mainly to political history; with independence the author apparently undertook to include some of the features of a

[11]Murphey, Archibald D.: Memorial to the General Assembly (Hillsboro, 1825; reprinted in the Historical Review of the North Carolina Colonial and State Records, Vol. 30, pp. 17-22).

[12]Wheeler, John H.: Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851 (Philadelphia, 1851, 2 vols. in one); Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians (Columbus, O., 1884).

social history with the result that his work is neither one nor the other but a mixture of both. The second volume is a combination of biographical sketches, civil lists and original documents. The whole is almost entirely without form or system; it is short and choppy and utterly without grace or literary attractiveness. It swarms with errors; its author seems to have had a positive genius for blundering; it was the butt of many jokes at the time of its publication by men who were wise enough to know its shortcomings but were not industrious enough to publish a better work. The faults of the History reappear also in the Reminiscences published in 1884.

But with all of its shortcomings Wheeler's History became, and remained for many years, the standard work on the history of North Carolina. The books of Williamson, Martin, and Hawks never made the popular appeal of Wheeler. He was the first native historian whose work was published; his sincerity was manifest; his love for the State was boundless; his choppy style an asset rather than a drawback for the disjointed information offered was such in character and form that it could be readily assimilated by the reader. It appealed to the popular consciousness. A large edition[13] was absorbed and, along with Wiley's "Reader," already mentioned, it had a wider influence and did more perhaps towards making the past of the State known to its own people than any other book, and despite its many defects it has been of great service.

Chronologically the next author is Francis L. Hawks, whose two-volume History was published in 1857-58.[14] The first volume deals with the Roanoke colonies only; the second comes no further than the end of the proprietary period in 1729; a third volume was projected to come to the Revolution; and a fourth was to bring the subject to his own day. Dr. Hawks had an immense advantage over his predecessors. He was able to make use of the materials collected by Mr. Bancroft, he had himself gathered much relating to the history of the colonial church, and the material within the State was being brought together and put into usable shape. He had had much experience in literary work and he enjoyed the valuable criticisms of Governor Swain. The plan on which his second volume is developed is ideal. It was his purpose to write real social history, to present a well rounded picture of the life of the people. Cutting loose from the older tradition that all history is political he insisted on adequate treatment of other equally important phases. This will be seen by an examination of his chapters: Exploration and settlement and civil and military history cover the

[13]The edition was 10,000 copies. Mr. Pinck C. Ennis told me that he once assisted in sending 2,700 copies to the paper mill. It is now relatively rare.

[14]Hawks, Francis Lister: History of North Carolina (Fayetteville, 1857-58, 2 vols.).

field which is usually considered as political history, but to these subjects he has added other chapters: The law and its administration; Agriculture and manufactures; Navigation and trade; Religion and learning; Manners and customs.

Dr. Hawks was far more of a scholar than any of his predecessors. He was universally recognized as one of the most accomplished historical and antiquarian scholars of his day and his work has many excellent features: His researches were more extensive; his critical abilities were of a high order; his style is clear, forceful and eloquent, but oratorical and personal and adapted rather to the spoken than the written word, for Dr. Hawks was a pulpit orator and his subject unconsciously conformed to hearing rather than reading. His training is perhaps the root of his greatest weakness,—a dogmatic certainty that seems to be inseparable from pulpit orators. Being accustomed to teach ex-cathedra and to have their auditors receive their teachings as if dictated by the Holy Ghost, as Goethe says, when they undertake to write history they frequently fall into the habit of substituting their own opinions for those of the documents. Such was the misfortune of Dr. Hawks. He was often partisan and perhaps more often wrong than right in his conclusions and he failed utterly to understand the spirit of his own people. This misfortune may perhaps be explained as due to life spent in a great city rather than in the open freedom of his own State. His History is academic and lacks that power of interpretation, particularly necessary for the period of which he wrote, which comes only with experience on the frontier. He is continually ringing the changes on North Carolina as the harbor of rogues and runaways from Virginia, failing to understand that the frontier is always not only a haven of refuge for the bad who take not kindly to the restraints of law and custom but also a promised land to the bolder and more restless spirits who chafe under any form of tyranny and from whose ranks the nation builders are always recruited. He failed to remember also that even the frontier is a movable quantity; in the first half of the 17th century it was Virginia itself; then it was Carolina; then it was Georgia; two generations ago it was Texas and California; now it is New Mexico and Arizona; tomorrow it will be Alaska.

Again, Dr. Hawks emphasizes what he terms the ignorance of the pioneers; had he ever seen these pioneers or their like in action he would never have called them ignorant. Illiterate they doubtless were, but ignorant never; ignorant men do not become commonwealth builders; the ignorant, the weak, the timid do not emigrate; they do not go out into the wilderness to build new homes and meet the savage on his own terms. Only the resolute, self-reliant, self-centered, self-confident, ag-

gressive pioneer does that. He is often illiterate, for the education of the schools is frequently denied to such, but ignorant never. He is a master in the domain of nature if not in the field of books.

Of all those who have undertaken a detailed and complete study of our history, to Major Moore[15] alone was it given to publish a work which came down to his own day and which presented a fairly complete view of at least the political activity of the State and its people.

Published in 1880 in two volumes this History comes down to the end of reconstruction and is still the only extensive work in existence dealing with the life of the State since the end of the Revolution. Major Moore did not undertake more than a history in the narrow sense,—a history of the political development of the State; he has little on religion, less on education and the intellectual life and practically nothing on economics. His work, so far as it goes, is well proportioned. The story of the colonial period is told in 175 pages and as many more are given to the Revolution. To the succeeding hundred years or less of freedom is given some 600 pages, of which the Civil War and Reconstruction, looming larger a generation ago than now, occupy nearly 300. This is, however, as it should be. This period made then the greatest appeal and it was the one on which Major Moore could speak as one having authority. He had been a participant in the scenes described and for this reason his second volume can never be wholly superseded nor entirely neglected by future students. It was his good fortune to escape the capital blunder of Williamson, for whatever his faults his contribution to the source material for the Civil War and Reconstruction is such as to fix his place securely in the historiography of the State.

For the earlier periods covered by Major Moore's work not so much can be said. He wrote before the publication of our records and had to depend for the colonial period on the older historians and on the relatively fragmentary sources then to be found in the State, while for the period between the Revolution and the Civil War the materials were much scattered and largely inaccessible even as they are today. Major Moore's style is faulty in the extreme. He presents a mass of facts. Insignificant politicians—for his History becomes to a large extent a record of such—crowd upon and over his limited canvas; as a result the general impression is blurred and lost in a multitude of unessential details and a horde of unimportant names. His facts, massive in number, overlay his narrative and historical perspective and philosophical interpretation disappear. The narrative is a hotch-potch with all sorts of unrelated materials, irrelevant, insignificant, garrulous, descending often to the level of mere neighborhood gossip and losing sight of the

[15]Moore, John W.: History of North Carolina from the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Time (Raleigh, 1880, 2 vols.).

larger plane of State activity for which the stage is set. Smothered in this way by its own details the text is innocent of style. It is more like the work of a story teller who, having arranged his ideas, precipitates them on paper regardless of relative importance or logical association, and then publishes them without revision. He failed to sort over and select his materials, being like Martin too much overmastered by mere chronological order.

Another writer, who deserves well of the State as a general historian but who has had the misfortune to remain almost entirely unknown, is John Franklin Heitman (1843-1904). His History of North Carolina appeared in the *North Carolina Educational Journal* (Trinity College, N. C.) in 1884-85[16] and in the *North Carolina Home Journal* (Trinity, N. C.) in 1897-98;[17] being published only in this form and enjoying at best a circulation of only a few hundred copies it has almost entirely disappeared, and is perhaps today rarer and less known than any other study published on the history of the State.

This neglect is not deserved for Professor Heitman was a close and enthusiastic student with scholarly impulses and high ideals; he possessed much industry, but was hampered by lack of means and his use of sources was of necessity limited since his study of the first hundred years of the colony was completed before the publication of the Colonial Records. Notwithstanding these handicaps he has fallen into fewer errors than might have been expected and has produced work of such a character as to cause us to regret that it must remain a torso.

In thirty-one short chapters Professor Heitman gave us a clear running narrative of the main events in the life of the State down to August, 1774. In his work he differs in many respects from his predecessors. He does not misinterpret our early colonial history like Williamson; he is free from most of the blunders of Martin and Wheeler; and while he lacks the sustained eloquence of Hawks he avoids the empty verbosity of Moore. In his narrative he does not philosophize, nor enter into a discussion of cause and effect; he indulges in neither sermons nor fanciful pictures, but sticks close to his text and gives a story that is always simple, straightforward and clear and sometimes vigorous. Had it been possible for Professor Heitman to have published his History in a more enduring form and could he have brought it down to his own day it would have commanded the respect of all students of the State's life just as all students who were privileged to know its author respected and honored him despite his shrinking modesty which made him pass with the careless observer for less than his true worth.

[16] In numbers for January-July, September-December, 1884, and January-June, September-December, 1885.

[17] In numbers for September, 1897, and January-August, October-December, 1898.

To Captain Ashe,[18] author of the latest and most extensive work on the History of North Carolina, the lines fell in more pleasant places. He wrote after the publication of the records; he had already spent a long life in the service of the State; he knew her history through such study as few men have been able or disposed to give, and for the last fifty years he has been an active participant in that history; he has had training in statecraft and had acquired skill in writing as editor of a leading newspaper; he was familiar with the documentary materials of our history from long study, from inheritance and personal participation, and to it all he brought an unrivaled love for the State and enthusiasm for investigation. The result so far is an extended and most valuable study of the life of the colony and State down to the close of the Revolution. With more abundant materials and under more favorable auspices Captain Ashe has outclassed and therefore outdistanced his earlier competitors at nearly all points, and has given us a story not only accurate but one well written and full of enthusiasm for his subject. It is treated with dignity, is without undue self-laudation, is devoid of that tone of cringing apology so often seen in our local literature, and has been even bold enough to reject without regard to consequences traditions long cherished by the State but found, unfortunately, not to be supported by documentary evidence.

In the main Captain Ashe has emphasized and followed the line of political and constitutional development, and it must be admitted that no other field so engrossed the talent of the colony and State in its earlier days. This was in accord with the genius of our people and is closely bound up with our political philosophy. Only in our own time, when we are all becoming loose constructionists, is the social and economic life of the State coming into its own. It is the purpose of Captain Ashe to begin his second volume with chapters reviewing the social, religious, intellectual and economic life of the 18th century, and with these chapters completed his work will present a carefully planned, well arranged, well written organic whole, easily without a rival among earlier writers. It is already coming into its own; it is likely to be long the authority for the story of the past, and for the last fifty years, because of its author's participation in the events described, it must always be a highly esteemed original source.

III. GENERAL REVIEW.

Having thus briefly reviewed the books which have undertaken to present a more or less detailed history of the State, we are prepared to consider certain characteristics which are for the most part common to them all.

[18]Ashe, Samuel A'Court: History of North Carolina from 1584 to 1783 (Greensboro, 1908, Vol. I all published).

No one of these general writers was trained in the methods of modern historical criticism; all of them came to their subject with such professional preparation only as it was possible for them to acquire in the school of experience and from a more or less limited contact with books and sources.

Indeed it has always been a weakness of history that since the entrance is easy many persons immature in knowledge, without training or experience and lacking in materials, have nevertheless rushed into the field and undertaken historical studies for which they are not prepared. To write or teach history is supposed to be within the reach of every man. This is perhaps the chief reason for so much inferior historical work. They write in simple ignorance of the subject, but in this North Carolina can claim no monopoly. History has no technical language of its own like that of the chemist, the psychologist or the educationist under which to veil its thoughts. The historian has never sought to live apart from his fellows. The most successful have preferred rather to mingle among them and draw lessons from their daily lives. This experience gives the historian the power of philosophical interpretation, but it does not in itself prepare him to write history which is concerned first of all with the search for materials and after such have been discovered with a consideration of the claims to credibility of contradictory documents, the elimination of the maximum of error, the attainment of the maximum of probability. In this work he dare follow no master but truth. In this search for truth the historians of North Carolina have been often handicapped by lack of training and experience, more often by the lack of documentary materials, and sometimes by preconceived opinions. It is only by continued research, by repeated investigation and the reweighing of old beliefs in the light of fuller evidence that we can hope to arrive at ultimate truth. Historical truth is a progressive evolution, the product of successive generations of painstaking scholars, who must be prepared to suffer such charges as pedantry and hypercriticism and to meet controversies between knowledge and ignorance where it will be insisted that each side has a right to their own opinion.

North Carolina historians have been weak on the literary side because, despite their production of a limited number of books, they are still to be reckoned rather as men of action than of thought. In general we find that those who were best trained in the arts of speaking and writing, like Hawks and Ashe, have beyond all question produced the best books from both the historical and literary sides.

Again, history flourishes best in a democracy because there the historian is at liberty to tell the whole truth if attainable and to reject

all shadow of error. Court historians and those devoted to the advancement of certain theories cannot represent the true ideals of history. It has not always been that North Carolina writers have been free from this charge. In their own day it was charged, and perhaps not without justice, that one (Hawks) favored the high church and Tory parties at the expense of low churchmen and dissenters; that another (Moore) gave undue emphasis to the Baptists, and that a third (Wheeler) made his book primarily a gallery of Democratic worthies. Historical books have been written in North Carolina to substantiate this theory and that, to advance the fortunes of individual men, and to prove preconceived theories rather than to arrive at exact truth. It is impossible for this writer to think that the North Carolina militia did not run away from the battle of Guilford when he devotes himself to the documents instead of the special pleadings of Schenck; nor can he, however much he might desire, accept the genuineness of other Revolutionary proceedings in the absence of original documents. Nor will he yield willing and ready assent to the estimate of certain characters who have in the past loomed large in the State's history. The times or the section in which they lived, some institution in which they were interested or family pride or other extraneous causes have conspired to give such men more than their due. It is the privilege, even the duty of the historian to reweigh the findings of contemporaries with their special pleadings and to assign to each subject that niche in the temple of fame which his merits may command. Conversely, other men, overwhelmed by the hostility or misunderstanding of their own generation, or neglected by the next because they were still ahead of their time, must be again considered and reassigned. Such men as Edward Moseley, Archibald D. Murphey and Calvin H. Wiley, protagonists and prophets, voices crying in the wilderness, are now for the first time coming into their own.

But history cannot flourish even in a democracy without support. No North Carolina historical writer is at all sure of an audience and for that reason our historical literature sometimes has lacked vitality. It is not even within the range of probability that any writer on North Carolina history has made money out of his venture. They have usually done their work because of enthusiasm for the subject and at heavy cost of personal sacrifice. They have received little corporate or State assistance. In this respect North Carolina has been sadly amiss. She has been liberal in providing for the publication of source materials. Beyond this she has as yet declined to go, but go she must if she wishes to know the history of her past. Two generations ago, while suffering from an acute attack of unwonted and inexplicable generosity she

opened her heart and her purse and purchased fifty copies of Colonel Wheeler's Sketches, but when the assistance of the assembly was asked in 1858-59 for Dr. Hawks the matter ended in talk and most of us remember the fate of Captain Ashe when he asked official recognition for his work in 1909 because he ran counter to certain interests. But Captain Ashe has attained a much greater reward for his work; he has already become the authority in North Carolina. He has won this recognition fairly by his excellence, his accuracy and devotion to his State. The next generation will accept his conclusions with a smile at the smallness of vision of our own.

It is generally conceded that men and nations are not remembered by what they have done but by what they have written. In the eyes of the future that State will be greatest which has produced not the greatest generals and statesmen but the greatest artists, poets and historians. It is theirs to award honor and pronounce judgment. They are the final arbiters in fixing the opinions of mankind. No legislative action can change the force of their award. They even pluck from oblivion, as Junius says, and reward with an eternity of infamy or of honor. It has always been so. The ancients were quick to recognize this truth. Happy was Hector, says Cicero, because he had Homer for his herald. The court of history is the final judgment seat of mankind and the historian is its chief minister.

North Carolina Fiction

By Thomas Perrin Harrison, Professor of English in the North Carolina A. and M. College.

I.

A glance over the field is sufficient to convince us that North Carolina has not been interpreted in fiction as we find to be the case with other Southern States. Every dramatic period in the life of Virginia has been mirrored in the stories of Mary Johnston, John Esten Cooke, Thomas Nelson Page, and Ellen Glasgow. These writers have done their work, too, with an artistic sureness of touch that places it among the permanent literary achievements of the nation. James Lane Allen, John Fox, and Alice Hegan Rice have crystallized in fiction certain phases of life in Kentucky; and Charles Egbert Craddock has similarly portrayed with keenest insight and loving sympathy the lives and characters of the Tennessee mountaineers. Equally valuable service has been rendered by George W. Cable, Ruth McEnery Stuart, and Grace King to Louisiana. Georgia also is peculiarly rich in the fiction that represents her varied and picturesque life. Richard Malcolm Johnston, Joel Chandler Harris, Harry Stillwell Edwards, and Will N. Harben have depicted with skill and with characteristic humor the past of the old Cracker State.

To what extent has North Carolina been interpreted in fiction?

II.

In order to enrich, or at least to make fairly complete our survey, we should include in North Carolina fiction, novels and short stories by authors who are not native but who have placed the scenes and incidents of their stories chiefly within the State. Ostensibly at least, these are attempts to portray in fiction the history of the State and the life of the people. This enlarged view brings within range such obvious pot-boilers as William Farquhar Payson's "John Vytal, A Tale of the Lost Colony." The story begins with roistering and riot in London streets, continues with mutiny and other excitements at sea—the stereotyped material of a thousand tales of adventure—and is filled out with rather crudely devised incidents in the wilds of Carolina. Quite different is Meredith Nicholson's "Little Brown Jug at Kildare," with its rather bright fooling which becomes at times horse-play. By this means

an accomplished novelist chose to regale himself for a season. These books do not truly portray North Carolina or her people.

Dr. L. R. Wilson, the University librarian at Chapel Hill, two years ago compiled a list of 103 titles of "fiction with a North Carolina setting." Of course some of these books merely touch North Carolina, and many of them are written by authors native of other States. Of this list, one is likely to remember Cyrus Townsend Brady's "When Blades Are Out and Love's Afield" and Mrs. Burnett's "Louisiana."

III.

A degree nearer to us are the sons and daughters of the State who have gone abroad and from vantage points beyond our borders have written stories, some on North Carolina themes, others with incidents localized elsewhere. To one of these, William Sidney Porter, we are pleased to lay unqualified claim, although from early manhood he lived outside our bounds, and although no story of his, except one, I believe, touches in its course his native State. As "O. Henry" will be accorded special consideration at this meeting of the Society, no more need be said of him here. Prominent in the group of native writers who have done their writing as non-residents stands Mr. Thomas Dixon, a man of virile and prolific mind. Do we find in his novels, for example, in "The Leopard's Spots," a true picture of life in North Carolina at any period? Do we find an accurate portrayal of representative Southern character? The author has the following "Historical Note" introductory to "The Leopard's Spots": "The only liberty I have taken with history is to tone down the facts to make them credible in fiction." Unfortunately this statement does not adequately answer our question. The book is, we grieve to admit, not a work of the novelist's high art, displaying in carefully constructed narrative and in accurately drawn characters our dramatic past. Instead of exercising the reserve and the restraint which make truth all the more compelling, the author gives himself all the license of a violent partisan. He produces in consequence, not dramatic narrative, but lurid melodrama: a series of amazing scenes and astounding incidents. If this talent had been so severely disciplined that this strength would have been held in check and wisely directed, what might it not have accomplished? Like Southern wealth in other fields, both strength and talent have been prodigally expended without adequate return in permanent intellectual and spiritual possession.

Mrs. May Dixon Thacker, a sister of Mr. Thomas Dixon, has written in "The Strength of the Weak" (1910), a novel on one phase of the woman problem; and Mrs. Sara Beaumont Kennedy, in "Joscelyn

Cheshire" (1901), has made contribution to the historical novels with scene cast in the State during the Revolution. Mrs. Kennedy rather uses the State at that time as background for the story than makes any attempt to recreate the period in form of fiction. In the present group even a brief survey must include Judge Albion W. Tourgee, whose most notable work probably is "A Fool's Errand" (1879.) This notorious book dealing with the Reconstruction period is well remembered by older people. "The Southerner," by the author who calls himself "Nicholas Worth," might be added if placing it as fiction could be justified. (Walter Hines Page ?

IV.

The writers born within the State and identified throughout their lives with the people command our chief interest. Who are these? What have they written? In the endeavor to depict the period just before the Civil War, John W. Moore's "The Heirs of St. Kilda" (1880) frankly assumes the controversial attitude; it answers the South's "cry for vindication." Covering practically the same period, an earlier book, "Seagift," by E. W. Fuller, almost defies classification, it combines so remarkably the wildly romantic with the photographically realistic. A beautiful Cuban girl, washed upon the shore after storm and shipwreck off Hatteras, is found by two young men, these two of course to become rival. Romantic enough, to be sure! Some scenes succeed as realistic as Fielding, devoid, however, of Fielding's genius; and finally a revolting close. The book is sadly lacking in construction, in consistency—in all the elements that go to make a successful novel; yet certain incidents in the story hold the attention and stick in the memory. Without adequate training, and without the consummate genius that overleaps all training, Fuller had imagination and crude force that under more favorable conditions might have carried him far.

The most interesting man in this group is Calvin H. Wiley, the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina, and the organizer of the public school system. "Alamance, or the Great and Final Experiment" (copyright, 1847), centers upon the life of the schoolmaster, Hector McBride; but the larger purpose includes the history of the central part of the State during the Regulation War and the Revolution. Similarly, "Roanoke, or where is Utopia?" (copyright, 1866) endeavors to portray the people and to commemorate the events of the coastal region. This novel, into which the slavery question enters, has a peculiar history. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks kindly furnishes me the facts from his manuscript bibliography of North Carolina literature. First published serially in Sartain's *Union Magazine*, Philadel-

phia, 1849, the book was twice pirated in London, once with the title "Adventures of Old Dan Tucker and His Son Walter" (1851), and again as "Companion to Uncle Tom's Cabin" (circa 1851). Peterson, in Philadelphia, published it in 1852 as "Life in the South." The text, Dr. Weeks says, is practically the same in all the editions; and also the "fourteen illustrations expressly for this work by Darby." These last must be seen to be appreciated. The book has had adventures almost equal to its hero's. Yet we can but regret that Calvin Wiley did not write a series of historical sketches rather than this unkempt fiction which pitiably fails when measured by the criteria of permanent literature. The spell of the "Author of Waverley" was too powerful; fiction it had to be.

Still more recently two men have again sought to re-create in fiction the colonial life of the State. Mr. W. L. Hargrave, in "Wallannah, a Colonial Romance" (1902), narrates a series of somewhat startling episodes, culminating in a scene which suggests the Indian trial in "The Yemassee" of William Gilmore Simms. Bearing the date 1913 is "The Master of the Red Buck and the Bay Doe," by Dr. William Laurie Hill, called "the poet laureate of journalism in North Carolina." The character of this novel is more fully indicated by the sub-title, "A Story of Whig and Tory Warfare in North Carolina, 1781-83." Fanning, of Revolutionary fame, is the central personage.

Turning from historical fiction, two women have written noteworthy fiction in other fields. Mrs. Tiernan has done successfully what, I take it, she set out to do. She seems to have seen clearly the literary preeminence in our day of the novel; and without aspiring to produce great, permanent fiction, she has drawn about her by a long series of stories a sympathetic and admiring circle of readers. The State owes her a debt for bringing, in "The Land of the Sky," our beautiful mountain region before the eyes of the nation. It is only to be deplored that in "The Light of the Vision," Mrs. Tiernan makes use of fiction as a medium to convey a propaganda of her religious faith. It takes genius indeed to raise a polemic in fiction to the level of art.

Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp is contributing short stories of high merit to some of the best periodicals. A collection of these stories would display to advantage their clear-cut structure, their classic purity of style, and the wholesome spirit that pervades them.

V.

The purpose in this paper has been to give a necessarily rapid review of North Carolina fiction, particularly of the extent to which the life of North Carolina has been interpreted in this literary form. Many

writers and many books are of necessity unmentioned. However, after even this hasty review, we must, I think, re-affirm that North Carolina has been, in the re-creation of her past in fiction, less fortunate than several other Southern States. The dramatic periods of our history—Roanoke and the first settlement, the period of the Regulators and the Revolution, the period of growth and self-realization, the Civil War, and the subsequent social readjustment—these periods, all of intense significance, have indeed been touched, but not yet, we feel, have they received final or even fairly satisfactory treatment in fiction. Furthermore, no native of the State has yet in fiction attained what promises to be a permanent place in the literature of the nation, save only William Sidney Porter.

Is there not peculiar significance in the fact that the Patterson Cup has been presented now for ten consecutive years: once for poetry, thrice for history, thrice for biography, thrice for description and travel: never yet for fiction! Fiction has been in the eligible list many times; but the fiction offered has not yet measured up to well-established standards.

"A good story well told" is Professor Phelps's definition of a novel. To the uninitiated this seems tantalizingly easy—to tell a story; the outer framework of the novel is glaringly obvious. But surprisingly otherwise the inner mechanism; to tell a story *well* is probably the most difficult of all the arts, requiring for success, as I have said, adequate training or consummate genius, this last being, in the words of the gentleman just quoted, as rare as radium. In the novels we have been considering, the high art illustrating the miraculous power of simplicity, directness, sincerity, is absent; in them also appears negatively the truth that no book, "unless the vital currents of a rare spirit flow through it and vivify it, has the gift of life."

Ballad-Literature in North Carolina

BY FRANK C. BROWN, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

In assigning me this subject for discussion, the committee informed me that they desired to have discussed in a paper of twenty minutes the following topics: definition and character of the ballad; the history of the ballad; the value in studying and preserving traditional English and Scottish ballads, and a general review of the work done by the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society in collecting English and Scottish ballads and other traditional songs still current in the State; I shall discuss, therefore, each of these topics as briefly as possible.

Many scholars have attempted to define the ballad: Herder has called ballads "The Voices of the Nations"; Professor Kittredge thus defines the ballad in his introduction to "English and Scottish Popular Ballads": "It [the ballad] is composed in the popular style and perpetuated for a time by oral tradition"; Ker, "On History of Ballads," gives this definition: "It is a narrative poem lyrical in form, or a lyrical poem with a narrative body in it. And it is a lyrical narrative, not of the ambitious kind, like Pindar, but simple, and adapted for simple audiences and for oral tradition from one generation to another."

The theory that one holds concerning the origin of the ballads determines in some degree his definition. Whether the ballad, as some scholars think, is the production of an individual poet, or maker, in whom there is all absence of subjectivity and self-consciousness, and who, in expressing his emotions, expresses those of a somewhat homogeneous community to which he belongs, or whether, as others think, this song is the production of a community in a communal throng, dancing and making a song as the people sing in their dance, work, or worship, has not been to most people proved beyond reasonable doubt. Perhaps there is truth in both contentions. It is true that even the ballads that seem genuine beyond all reasonable doubt and that have been preserved most nearly in their earliest complete form have undoubtedly been so changed by process of tradition that one can never use them as very trustworthy evidence to prove any theory; but they must have preserved through the centuries certain characteristic traits, which, together with facts connected with traditional songs produced in modern times by negroes, lead one to the conclusion that some ballads at least had their origin in a singing of the dancing, worshipping, or working communal throng which repeated perhaps with some sensible or senseless and wild refrain the expressions that individuals of

the throng uttered to add facts to the story of grief, of joy, of astonishment, or of something momentous that for the hour, day, week, and perhaps month was all-absorbing to the mind of the throng; and my belief is that these expressions were doubtless sung the first time without any order of chronology and just as facts occurred to various individuals, who uttered them in a sort of recitative as they thought of them, and then joined the throng in the wailing refrain; then the whole throng repeated over and over these expressions, each time with the refrain, until a new fact occurred to some one, who added his contribution to the common stock. The next time the crowd sang, the stock of ideas was undoubtedly sung by unanimous impulse in a somewhat chronological order, and a crude narrative song was the result; in just this manner negroes make fragments of songs today. But the result thus obtained was evidently not a ballad such as has come down to us, and the result never could have been a complete finished ballad, for it seems unthinkable that fragments, crude expressions of individuals, could ever have united of themselves to form a finished ballad of the most intricate sort. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that some mind a bit more talented than the others of the throng pondered the fragments from one meeting time until another, rearranged and remodeled them and then at the meeting of the throng led the singing with his rearranged order? It is hard for anyone to believe that there ever was a time in any community when some minds were not superior to others; moreover, if Steenstrup is right, a "dance-leader" was present at all meetings of the throng and had charge of the dances; as the obligation of leading was upon him, he naturally would have worked out in his mind some plan for the coming dance or ceremony which he was to lead. Such individual rearrangement and revision, together with some polish which the ballads have doubtless received during the centuries of their traditional existence, would account for the forms in which they are now preserved. But some ballads seem to show no trace of origin in a singing throng at worship or ceremony, that is, there is apparently no trace of choral elements or of choral origin. How about these ballads? Is it not conceivable that even in very early times the minds that had some taste for collecting the fragments of fact sung in the communal gathering and talent for rearranging them should easily have taken the initiative at other times, and, as they felt the common emotions of their community, should have expressed these common feelings in a song that moved more rapidly in a narrative to the end without any refrain? The refrain doubtless indicates slow composition, a pausing for some one to add an idea. To the statement that the refrain seems often to have been sung first, it may be said that it

probably was sung first to give to the throng the air to which the expressions of emotion were to be uttered.

The subject-matter of the ballad is of a popular nature: it appeals to the people as a whole. It consists of anything that was momentous in some way, riddles, miraculous harvests, the quibbling oath, elopements, stealing of the bride, love-affairs that ended unfortunately, battles, shipwrecks, enchantments, transformations, fairy stories, return of the dead, legends secular and religious. Real suffering of body or of mind appealed as a rule to the sympathies of the early peoples as did also humorous situations; consequently, the ballads touch the entire gamut of primal human passion, the grave and gay, the cruel and kind, the uncouth and refined. As opposed to artistic, or literary, poetry, many of the ballads are tragic in ending because life was so. The folk were not keen analysts and philosophers, carefully considering human life and commenting on it; they took life as they found it, more often cruel and selfish than kind and generous, and, since it was without the softening influence of Christianity, often tragic in the extreme.

From the very nature of the ballad we see that certain characteristics must generally be present in the genuine ballad. It must be narrative, it must tell a simple life-like story, and, since the early people, so far as we have been able to learn, danced at many of their gatherings and gave expression in song to their emotions at work, at their ceremonies, or at their worship, the ballad was always sung—it is still sung wherever it is yet traditional and current, and without the air one cannot understand or appreciate its full value and beauty; its appeal without the music is incomplete. Since the ballad is the expression in song of a wholly natural passion free from all affectation and restraint, it is never without perfect rhythm; indeed so pervasive is the lilt in many ballads that they cannot be recited at all; they must be sung. Furthermore, as the product of a simple people—simple in that they knew not affectation, cynicism, restraint, literature, art, philosophy, or any complex theories of life, the ballads are artless in form, often homely, free from learned words, simple in methods of thought, and direct and frank in expression. Though oftentimes gruesome in details, ballads always express genuine pathos as opposed to sentimentalism, but they seldom append a moral. In structure they are brief, simple in their plots, which contain a large degree of probability; they are therefore intensely impressive and dramatic.

In metrical form the ballads are simple: most English ballads contain stanzas of two lines with four accents in each verse, "which is thought by many to have been the prevailing measure of early popular poetry everywhere," or else they appear in the so-called ballad-measure,

a stanza of four lines with four accents in the first verse, three in the second, four in the third, and three in the fourth.

The ballad is no doubt of early origin. "Nobody doubts," says Professor Kittredge, "that the Angles and Saxons had ballads in abundance when they invaded Britain, and the mediaeval chroniclers testify to the continuance of the ballad-singing habit. Indeed, there is no difficulty in proving beyond a reasonable doubt that there were ballads in plenty from the dawn of English history down to the seventeenth century." In our earliest literature we find references to remnants of songs: in "Beowulf," our oldest epic, we read that, to the accompaniment of the harp, a "King's thane" or a scop sang old songs and fitted words to the air of an old song to entertain the warriors on the mead-bench; in the account of William the Conqueror's invasion of England we read that a "tregetour," Taillefer, marched at the front of the victorious army, singing the Chant de Roland. We do not know absolutely that any ballads existed in those early days, but we may be fairly certain that they did; however, such productions of the folk were perhaps scorned for the more literary productions of the minstrel in the day of the Norman invader; hence, none of the ballads, if any existed, has been preserved to us. The earliest writing down of a ballad is that of "Judas," preserved in a manuscript of Trinity College, Cambridge, written in the thirteenth century, and the next oldest to be written down, at least of which we have any record, is "Riddles Wisely Expounded," in a manuscript of about 1445; most of the early ballads preserved to us were written down between 1445 and 1650. The fact that we have none preserved in writing earlier than the thirteenth century does not prove that the ballads are not of ancient production, but merely that such simple productions of the people were not preserved in written form. We may be fairly safe in concluding that most of the ballads preserved to us assumed the form in which they now appear some time between 1100 and 1650.

When the last volume of the monumental work of Professor Child, of Harvard University, "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads," was published in 1898, the great scholar had collected and published from all sources 305 ballads which he considered genuine. Of these he had found in America variants of thirty-eight different ballads; and most scholars thought no doubt that Mr. Child had found most of the variants of ballads still current in this country; indeed few, if any, realized that anything like all of those he found were still current at that time, and as late as 1904 Professor Kittredge wrote in his introduction to the edition of "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" by Sargent and Kittredge: "A few of the ballads in Mr. Child's collection are still in oral

circulation; but most of them are completely forgotten or are known only in versions derived from print"; in recent years, however, collectors in America have made some very rare finds of variants, and even versions, of ballads in the Child collection which Mr. Child did not dream existed here—variants which in many, in fact in most, instances are still sung by the people of our country, chiefly in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Southern States.

In an admirable article, "The Traditional Ballad in the South," in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* Volume xxvii, January-May, 1914, Professor Reed Smith, of the University of South Carolina, assigns to the various states the ballads found therein, and he gives other most interesting material concerning variants of ballads found in America. Professor Smith's article shows that, up to January, 1914, a total of seventy-three ballads had been collected in America, of which thirteen variants had been found in North Carolina. Since that time North Carolina has found eleven more, making a total of* twenty-four to date; of this eleven one is a variant, collected just before Christmas, 1914, never before found in America, and another, reported to the Society in January, 1915, is a version not in Mr. Child's great collection and not generally known to exist in the English language. The North Carolina Folk-Lore Society has still another variant, not counted in the twenty-four, never before found in America, but the collector, Mrs. John C. Campbell, of Asheville, has not been able to determine yet whether the variant (a variant of 283 in Child, *The Crafty Farmer,* collected with the title *A Yorkshire Bite*) can be credited to our state or whether it must go to the credit of Georgia or Tennessee. At any rate, whether this last find adds one to North Carolina's list or not, we are sure that America can now claim a total of seventy-six; there may be in other states recent discoveries of variants not before found in this country, but if there are any, I have not seen a report of them.

Most of the ballads collected in this state are still sung by the mountain farmer or woodsman as he goes to his work, by the tobacco farmer during the nights when he cures his crop for the market, by the mothers in various parts of the State as they lull their children to sleep or follow their daily routine of work (the ballads which you will hear sung this afternoon were collected within six miles of Durham in a community where they are daily sung), all unconscious that these songs are the frank expression centuries ago of the emotional life of our ancestors across the sea, but all realizing that these traditional melodies appeal to their primal passions and cling from generation to generation about the hearthstone. Of many of the ballads found in North Carolina the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society has been able to collect the airs,

*When this paper was read before the Association in December, 1914, seventeen ballads had been found in the State. The figures here given represent the results of the Society's work to April, 1915, when this article goes to press.

which will be published in a volume of North Carolina folk-lore to appear in 1915; it is the earnest hope of those in charge of the publication of this volume that many more airs to these ballads and to the other traditional songs will have been sent to the Society before the manuscript of the volume goes to the printer.

The value of ballads lies in the light they throw upon social conditions of our early ancestors, the men and women who produced the race that charted the seas, circumnavigated the globe, explored and colonized America, gave us the best blood of our nation and the highest quality of citizenship that we know, and produced under Elizabeth some of the greatest literature the world has ever seen. The ballads enable us to look upon the emotional life of those shadowy days and to see the hearts of those early peoples, their crude faith, perhaps more superstitition than true religion, their ideas of patriotism, happiness, success and failure, ideals of home and domestic affection—all these and many more. But I am persuaded that perhaps the greatest value in the study of the ballads lies in their simple, frank, unaffected expression of all the primal passions, their setting forth unashamed the undisguised human being and in the simple presentation of the great out-of-doors, the forest and stream, cloud and tempest, frost and snow, sunshine and shadow. The ballads have little real description of external nature, for they move briefly and rapidly in a simple and dramatic manner to the end of the narrative, but who can read any real ballad and imagine himself walking on the granolithic sidewalk of a great city or riding in a parlor-car? We are taken out with these simple folk into the clear sunshine, and in imagination follow them over crag and through forest and stream and river into the outdoors, where we smell the pleasant tang of the forest and breathe the atmosphere of health and life in action and deed. These people were no weaklings, men or women, and as we associate with them, we find them red-blooded, sanguine, often wild and grotesque to be sure, but cast in heroic mould. Where can we go to get a better view of simple humanity, crude but true, than in the ballads? And is not this, the truthful presentation of the relation of man to external nature and his attitude towards the eternal, one of the highest qualities which we seek in literature?

Of the great mass of folk-lore collected by the Society in North Carolina I will mention the more important material in three general classes.

1. Of the English and Scottish ballads in Professor Child's collection variants of the following have been collected in the State:

Numbers and Titles Given in Mr. Child's Collection.	Titles by Which the Same Ballads Are Known in North Carolina.
4. Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight.	The Six Fair Maids; The Seventh King's Daughter; Sweet William.
7. Earl Brand.	Sweet William and Fair Ellen; Fair Ellender.
10. The Two Sisters.	(Collected without title in March, 1915.)
12. Lord Randal.	Tiranti, My Son (a composite of 12 and 76).
26. The Three Ravens.	Three Black Crows.
53. Young Beichan.	Lord Behan; The Turkish Lady.
73. Lord Thomas and Fair Annet.	Lord Thomas and Fair Ellender; Lord Thomas and Fair Ellenter; Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor; Fair Ellender and the Brown Girl.
74. Fair Margaret and Sweet William.	Lady Marget.
75. Lord Lovel.	Lord Lovinder; Lord Lovel and Lady Nancy.
76. The Lass of Roch Royal.	Kitty Kline; Tiranti, My Son. (See No. 12 in this list.)
79. The Wife of Usher's Well.	The Lady and Her Children Three; The Three Little Babes.
81. Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard.	Lord Daniel's Wife, or Little Mattly Groves.
84. Bonny Barbara Allen.	Barbara Allen.
85. Lady Alice.	George Collins; Giles Collins.
93. Lamkin.	Beaulampkins.
95. The Maid Freed from the Gallows.	True Love; The Hangman.
118. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne.	Robin Hood and the Stranger.
200. The Gypsy Laddie.	Egyptian Davy O; Black Jack David; Black Eyed Davy.
243. James Harris (The Demon Lover).	The House Carpenter.
272. The Suffolk Miracle.	Jimmy and Nancy.
274. Our Goodman.	Kind Wife.
277. The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin.	Dan—You.
286. The Sweet Trinity (The Golden Vanity).	The Golden Willow Tree.
299. Trooper and Maid.	The Bugle Boy.

2. This list contains traditional songs which are apparently of British origin.

Beautiful Susan;
Johnny German;
The Turkish Factor;
Johnny Dye;
The Prince of Morocco;
The Silk Merchant's Daughter;
Young Johnnie;
Sweet Jane;
Seven Long Years;
Poor Parker;
"I was brought up in Ireland";
"When I became a rover";
William Taylor;
Sailor Boy;
"Good woman, good woman";
Charming Nancy;
Lovely Susan;
Jealous Lover;
Oh the Lamp Burns Dimly Down Below;
Robert Lerow and His Dila;
The Squire's Sons;
The Lover's Lament;
The Dying Lovers;
The Old Dyer;
Jack and Joe;
"A broker lived on Brighton Street";
"There was a lady, skin and bone" (fragment).

3a. In this list are songs which are apparently of American origin; some are purely local.

Paul Jones;
The Two Soldiers;
Bonnie Blue Eyes;
Soldier, Soldier, Won't You Marry Me?
"My father's a hedger and ditcher";
The Old Miller and His Three Sons;
Governor Joe;
Sourwood Mountains;
Billy Grimes;
"Whip jambree";
"Oh, Willie! Is it you?"
The Orphan Girl;
The Battle of Shiloh Hill;
My Darling Little Pink;
"Oh dear, what can the matter be?"
The Cork-Leg;
Billy Boy;
Old Summer;

My Good Old Man;
A Good Cause for War;
Eula Lee;
An Irish Song;
Ballad of the Waterfall;
"Old Grumley is dead";
Southern Wagon;
When This Cruel War is Over;
Red, White, and Red;
Drummer-Boy of Waterloo;
On to Richmond;
Sun-Down Song of the Plow-Boy;
A Drinking Song;
Hunting Song;
When Adam Was Created;
A Little More Cider;
Row the Boat;
False Marie;
The Drummer Boy;
The Rugged Soldier;
Silly Bill;
Pretty Polly;
"Should I prove false to thee";
Down in a Lone Valley;
Tom Dooley;
Sweet William and Nancy;
Jennie Jenkins;
Pretty Saro;
The Farmer's Boy;
"In eighteen hundred and sixty-one";
"Come, says Harry";
An Old Man;
"I won't marry at all";
Singing the Ten Commandments;
Drummer Boy at Shiloh;
The Merrimac;
Poor Little Ellen (Ellen Smith);
Nelly Bly;
A Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea;
Johnny Schmoker;
Michael Roy;
Good Times;
On the Banks of the Ohio;
Monkey Married the Baboon's Sister;
Nancy Till;
The Dumb Girl;
Neighbor Jones;
The Lame Man and the Blind Man;
"In the morning out we go";
Rig-a-Jig and Away We Go;
Mr. Frog Went a-Courtin';

"Fox jumped up one moon-shiny night";
Corn Shucking Song ("Jolie was a coon-dog");
Annie Lee;
The Weeping Willow;
Don't Tell Pa;
Drop o' Dew;
Old Father Grimes;
Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet;
Farmer Boy for Me;
One Little Word;
"Just as the sun went down";
Midnight Dew, or *The Devil's Dream;*
My Own True Love;
Sweet Betsy, or *Charming Betsy;*
John Hardy;
Lulu;
"I'm alone, I'm alone";
Going Down to Town;
Fare Thee Well;
Johnnie Henry;
Fond Affection;
The Paper of Pins;
Tavern in Town;
John Harmen;
Old Bob Ridley (shucking song);
Coo Coo Song;
Gypsy's Warning;
Young Charlotte;
Handsome Ploughboy;
The States;
"Rody, body, show" (row the boat ashore);
"Hi yo, boat row";
Lorena;
Kate Secrest;
"Sapsucker sucking, up a yellow gum tree" (shucking song).

3b. A list of negro ballads and negro traditional songs.

The New Burying Ground;
[*Funeral Song of Uncle Ananias*];
The Hamlet Wreck;
Destruction of the Titanic;
Durham Jail;
"It's good fer to have some patience";
Roll, Jordan, Roll;
I'm Bound to Cross the Jordan;
Oh! Susannah;
Jim Crack Corn;
John C. Britton;
"Roll, riley, roll";
"Cold frosty morning, nigger mighty good" (fragment);

"Frog he sot and watched the alligator" (fragment);
"Sam stuck a needle in his heel" (fragment);
"Harness up your horses" (fragment);
"Johnstown's a mighty big flood" (fragment);
"Oh yaller gal rides in an automobile";
Gideon's Band;
I Came From Ole Virginny;
"Come to shuck dat corn tonight" (fragment);
Napper (a break-down);
Ole Zip Coon;
Way Over in the Promised Land;
Georgia Buck;
"He got a ring, I got a ring" (fragment);
"The ole cow goes jingle-ling" (fragment);
Br'er Rabbit;
Catfish;
Ole Molly Har' (fragment);
I'll Sing You a Little Song;
Snake Baked the Hoecake (fragment);
"Robert Ridley, hoo hoo" (jig);
"Red bird sittin' in jay bird's nest" (shucking song).

North Carolina Poetry

By Ernest L. Starr, Professor of English in Salem College.

In a critical examination of the poetical output of the State one is checked and held still in surprise by a realization of the difference between what North Carolina poetry is popularly thought to be and what it is.

That fine glow of patriotism which has led us since Alamance to do, to accomplish, has also filled us with a correct and well-premised pride in what we have done. Well-premised surely: for North Carolina has been on the death-line—that is, the front rank, the honor line—in each of the three great national crises through which the country has passed.

By right of inheritance the North State possesses a wide strain of that splendid self-consciousness which filled England at the time of the settling of the colonies. When England found that its horde of arrowy little sloops of war could devastate the greatest fleet of battleships ever sent out upon the Atlantic, when through the activities of the Cabots, of Smith, of Raleigh, the far ends of the earth lifted their nebulous bulk upon the English horizon, when the shuttle of English commerce brought the woof-thread ever stronger, ever more variegated, into the central loom of London, then there grew to full stature that virile English pride of blood and brain which has since been modified only in objective trend, if at all. It had its soundest basis in the acquisition of a new imaginative outlook. World-vision opened up before the English eye. No end was beyond the national effort to compass. Over-sea empire materialized; the glory of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan drama was realized.

This adventurous spirit of freedom and self-trust flowed directly into the three or four southernmost of the thirteen colonies. It emanated originally from those castes of Englishmen to whom a rich flavor and zest of living meant more than exile and new home-building for nonconformance to a creed. Free-living, broad-dreaming Englishmen became self-trusting, aspiring North Carolinians and Virginians. That boldest dreamer of them all, Walter Raleigh, poured out upon this Carolinian shore an anointing breath of freedom, of breadth and confidence. More than ever was he our own time-spirit, when on the occasion of his final voyage he staked his life against a dream, played and bravely lost.

We have remained true to the vision of Raleigh, and have lived out the expanding, upward-urging spirit of self-dependence bred into us by England through him.

In view, then, of the State's legitimate pride in what it has done—and a great company of high achievements stand ready to answer to the name of North Carolina—in view of the State's trust in its potentialities of greatness in many different spheres of activity, need we hesitate to confess that this mood of satisfied approval is pervasive enough to cover a field over which it has no right to spread? If we have grown to believe that in one particular division of literature we possess more than we actually own, it is a viewpoint quite compatible with that well-premised pride with which North Carolina regards its past achievements.

The popular estimate of North Carolina poetry is too high. Perhaps the statement will not be controverted that the undiscerning look with a surprising degree of complaisance upon the poetical output of the State. No critical balance is struck: the worthy and the not-so-good are accorded each a reading, an easy word of commendation—and forgotten. The printed volume of a fellow-statesman's poetry is examined in a mood of warm sectional patriotism. Its faults are glozed, its merits exalted because it is another volume to be proudly added to our shelf of North Carolina poets. Many have asserted, for instance, that Joseph W. Holden's "Hatteras" is one of the finest of Southern poems, but who has further distinguished it by adding that the eighth stanza, beginning with the line, "Can mortal tongue in song convey," is so far below the level of the remainder that it might well be an interpolation by an alien hand?

State pride is a prolific source of this popular over-estimation. In its train comes indifference to correct standards of criticism, as deplorable from this source as when it emanates from ignorance. The final regretful concomitant is a prevalent apathy among those classes capable of intelligent, constructive criticism, apathy toward the good as well as the unworthy productions. Common opinion, these feel, has placed a sufficiently high valuation upon a particular work. Why measure it by a Victorian standard?

Certainly the published anthologies of State verse have done nothing to correct this error. At least two of the three collections of North Carolina poetry have presented the good, bad and commonplace side by side, without caution or distinction. The first, published in 1854, offers the work of sixty different versifiers. The last, published in 1912, presents thirty-six separate poets. The work of each compiler suggests a searching far and near for every single piece of native poetical writing worthy, in the compiler's opinion, of inclusion in the volume. One of the prefaces tells of selective quests in the earlier collections, in newspapers, old text-books and magazines. We cannot but wish it told of

the exclusion of this or that poem or author because of failure to measure up to a definitely chosen literary standard.

The result is both amazing and misleading: amazing because of the mediocrity of a number of the selected offerings; misleading because of the lack of balance resulting from the presentation of writers of such disproportionate ability and attainments in a single grouping. The four or five names which should stand out preëminently are roped back with the general class.

Such compilations are excellent for purposes of record, but not for study by high school students, far less by the sixth or seventh grade pupils to whom one of the collections is dedicated. There is too much dross with the gold. This work is not a setting forth of the inherently good and worthy, nor are the poems included truly representative. Any State desires to have its best work in a given field considered as representative, not all its work of all degrees of richness and poverty.

Our grade and high school students do not need to know the poorer products of State versification. No one but the specially equipped student along researching lines needs to know. If our students are to grow up with the idea that North Carolina has produced good poetry, and can produce better, let us give them Boner, McNeill, Stockard and Sledd in plenty and spare them the disillusioning tedium of studying mediocrities.

Again, when such anthologies pass beyond State bounds they show to unbiased critics the paucity of our poetical past. The presentation of a weak reason deprives a good argument of its strength. These books offer many weak reasons with seeming deliberateness. Let our claim rest rather upon the few who have done good work. Massachusetts could doubtless put forth a voluminous folio upon a basis similarly broad. We do not find, however, such a volume either in the hands of the secondary school student of that State or on the shelves of statewares displayed to the public. On the contrary, a limited company of the worthy—Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Emerson—are set forth with their good work, as truly representative. So too would we do well to put all our enthusiasm and pride into supporting our four ablest poets. We need to centralize upon them, to buy them, study them, teach them, preach them, at the same time realizing that the lesser craftsmen have striven worthily. All praise to them and thanks, as useful emulators, as inculcators of the poetic idea throughout the State.

Is, then, our argument that North Carolina has produced good poetry a sound argument? Is there basis in fact for the claim? Emphatically, yes: a sounder basis, in a restricted field, than the loyal overestimators of the entire output have realized.

Time not only takes from the true craftsman a lifelong toll of effort, but demands stay of sentence for a certain period following the completion of his work. Lasting judgment of an artist's creations presupposes a final readjustment of the general vision, and this has eventuated in the cases of at least two of our poets: John Henry Boner and John Charles McNeill. Recognition has come more slowly to Boner than to McNeill, due to his long residence outside the State and to the greater seriousness of his outlook. McNeill had his audience with him, it is true, during his lifetime, but the six years elapsed since his death have undoubtedly served to assure his gracious preëminence. Add to these two other names, Stockard and Sledd, and our poetical roster is complete.

Yet what a group it is! Earnest, able, ambitious, State-loving, above all conscientious, these have made our poetry what it is. In a greater than sectional sense it is good because they have lived and worked. They have put relativity into our verse. They have fed a flame, already lighted, so that now it shines with immeasurably clearer radiance than ever before.

Time has granted true perspective for only two of them, Boner having died eleven years ago and McNeill six. Dr. Sledd is still speaking for himself. A month ago his voice rang out from London with fine poetic fervor. We may be certain that his productions will assume always nobler proportions, for he is endowed with the true poet's temperament and vision. For Mr. Stockard and his poems it is difficult to find the illuminating phrase. One can scarcely realize that this kindly, generous singer of beautiful songs, maker of charming sonnets, is no longer here to fill his distinguished position in the intellectual life of the State. Yet the universal regret for his loss will make his self-expressive poems doubly dear. He knew the "beauty cast from time long past," and made it very real to the lovers of his poems. He bequeathed sincerity of purpose to his countrymen, and a painstaking watchfulness of detail best illustrated by his choice of the sonnet as a favored medium of expression. His is the method of approach which the coming generation of State poets will do well to follow. His influence will be lasting, just as his life has been memorable for its genuineness and dignity.

It is not alone the aligning passage of time which singles out the work of Boner and McNeill as the actual basis for our claim. Other things have worked together with them. These are the gradual change of intellectual attitude throughout the State; the increasing efficiency in educational methods; the approving seal put upon sincerity of purpose by such recognition as the Patterson cup; the directive energy of so

able an organization as this Association; above all, a Statewide willingness to listen sympathetically.

Yet had Boner and McNeill striven alone in a barren field, they would not have failed of success. They are the first poets of the State to lend a professional note to native poetry. They published volumes not at their own expense, but on the invitation of publishers who sought them out, who desired their productions, and who paid a stipulated royalty on volumes sold. They approached their art with intelligent respect, knowing that poetical feeling alone does not warrant breaking into poetical expression. They knew that the feeling must be supported by an intimate comprehension of a group of highly specialized laws.

By living so long away from his native State, Boner submitted himself to a severer standard of criticism than McNeill. The latter, one might say, deliberately limited his sphere. If Boner had done likewise, recognition would have been earlier accorded him by his fellow-statesmen.

The fourteen years spent by Boner in New York are responsible, however, for an acknowledged eminence in letters which he was the first North Carolinian to reach. His editorial and critical abilities were generously conceded by such men as E. C. Stedman, I. K. Funk, and Richard Watson Gilder. Beyond the bounds of his State he was recognized as North Carolina's first man of letters. It is to be happily observed in this connection that a second man of letters stands forth in the State; a second, and in the difficult field of literary criticism, a greater. Today Dr. Archibald Henderson takes not only this rank, but that of a scholar of international reputation, an authority in a formative and involved field, a writer whose critical accolade is well worth the winning.

Nevertheless it is in his poetry that Boner lives. No poet of the State has touched his harp with so sure a hand, nor has had before his mind's eye so clear a vision of beauty. His lips phrased songs of high imagining and well-nigh impeccable workmanship. From ballad to sonnet his technique is unfaltering. It is the smoothness of well-polished art, because he added minutely careful finish to true poetic insight.

His vista is wide. A fuller reading of his lyrics cannot but convince us that he has deepened the channel of native poetic thought. Poems of his own State, poems of sentiment, of nature, of imagination he has given out in abundance; personal poems also which become universal in application, setting forth as they do that wonder we all have felt, wonder that the strife of living should have to be so grievous, success so elusive, support from within so difficult to maintain.

The circumstances of Boner's life solemnized his outlook without darkening it. The postponement of material success, accompanied by

a certain melancholy of self-realization, spiritualized his later vision. Whatever of indifference there may have been in his early life toward the sober splendor of death and life in death, Boner grew to full realization of the divine purpose in creation. Judged by the quality of his poems of spiritual reflection, this poet's steps led him not infrequently to the mountain-top where a far-away sun is always shining. The faith expressed in his rarely excellent sonnet, "If I Could But Escape Life's Fretting Ills," is of a degree and force which could not fail to distill an inner content through a life circumstanced as was his.

A just estimate of Boner's poetry results in the free acknowledgment that his is work which will not die. There is full-voiced music in his verse; there is power and keen-lived spirituality; there is reverence for the God of the Open and of his Soul. His contribution to the poetical literature of the State lies in point of view as well as in production. He believed in the infinite pains that go to make excellence, in preparation, polish and restraint.

McNeill, it must be noted, proclaimed no new theory of loveliness, left metaphysics untouched and introspection unuttered, yet he has taken our hearts in his strong, gentle-fingered hands and laid them close against his own, there to feel the warmth and cleanness and truth of him. He has done a difficult thing, and therein lies his especial merit: he has given expression to the mood and circumstances of his people.

Next in importance to giving humanity a new and better understanding of life, and only a degree less in value, is the ability to sum up the mood through which that humanity has been passing. Whenever a people continues to face the same problem through a stretch of years, to hold the same attitude even if unconsciously, there comes one who gives form and order to the drawn-out state of mind. Richard Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy" analyzed the introspective despondency which had dominated England for the previous sixty years. Mackenzie epitomized the early novel of sentiment in his frankly-titled "Man of Feeling." For us McNeill did much the same thing. He looked at life about him, saw it with fresh vision, and put it into poetry. He caught the glamor of the South: the gracious reticence of its women, the courtly deference of its men, the suave gentility of living, the odor of a Southern rose-garden, October and arbutus,—things we love the better for hearing McNeill tell us what we have always thought of them.

The frequent brevity of his poems and the stimulating abruptness with which they end leave a picture vividly impressed; yet it is an old familiar scene beautified, heightened and made vivid—and we are glad to have it so. The technical form is often unpretentious, almost to

artlessness, but that again is good art. The freshness of his conception stands forth resplendently.

No better delineation of rural life and of the negro nature is to be found in Southern poetry. McNeill, moreover, is of the order of Cavalier Poets which the South more than any other section is best qualified to produce. His present popularity is richly merited by the warmth and sweetness of his singing.

Thus far has native poetry developed. What is next to come? Surely these four gentlemen who have wrought so splendidly would be the first to say that the great flowering of Carolinian poetry is yet to be. It is inevitable. Inspiration is on every hand. Inclination exists in each locality. Precedent has been set. Ability waits only to be guided.

Herein lies the obligation of the State. If we wish to encourage the native poetic instinct to fullest expression, to stimulate it to fine propulsive vigor, we must first teach the coming generation of writers that poetic feeling alone cannot result in true poetry until it has been refined, polished, restrained, and supported by greater feeling and more work.

It is good to stand before Mt. Mitchell or beside the rapids of the French Broad and *feel* the scene strongly enough to be moved to expression. We need to feel more of it. In the variegated life about us dramatic qualities are everywhere waiting to be seen by the finer senses. Walter Pater says: "How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy? To burn always with this hard gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstacy, is success in life."

Yet feeling alone is no warrant for the expression of feeling in the most exact and demanding of all the arts. Poetry is a stream whose banks are well-defined, whose channel must be known. Poetic feeling must be made to kindle a great desire for real facility of expression. Unnumbered writers of verse in North Carolina have glowed with feeling and turned immediately to expression. If, with the feeling once expressed, they have been too prone to let it stand and make its bid for rank as literature, they have done a very human thing. Who does not know the pleasure of weaving parti-colored words into the patterned likeness of an idea? And once it is done, only the most level-headed appreciator of the relativeness of merit can resist the praise of others less able than himself. Only those who have tried know how difficult it is to write even half well. The coming poet must feel, must "burn always with this hard gem-like flame," but he must realize that his feeling can grip another's intellect only when his form of expression has grown polished, smooth and conscientiously exact.

The new generation of writers must be made to see, moreover, that a limited output closes one of the avenues to eminence. Every man loves the thing he has created, yet in a literary sense "each man kills the thing he loves" if he lets it stand alone, unflanked by the lesser preceding accomplishment and the greater effort following. Joseph Holden's "Hatteras" is indeed a valuable poem, yet it is practically the only poem of especial merit bearing his signature. Why did he not write more? Why leave this thing he loved to suffer from its isolation? Very many of the lesser poets of the State would have won a higher rating if they had written more, granted that the continued endeavor were cumulative in intention.

The genius of Poe is needed to secure fame with an extremely limited output. Let our new poet speak out freely. Many phases of life must be touched, animated, laid bare before a writer can reach true poetic stature. The poet is an understander of life not in a single aspect or instance, briefly set forth, but in a broad, full, rich and loving comprehension.

Then let us emphasize this feeling, polish, and freedom of utterance. Let our high school teachers of English, when they interpret the work of our worthiest poets, put the thought daily into their students' minds that the truest poet yet to sing in North Carolina is about to string his lyre. Let us meet him with new standards of comparison and criticism, with worthy forms of recognition and encouragement, and love him while he is living. He has almost reached us. He is coming up the hill, just beyond the crest, his young face aglow with confidence and promise.

North Carolina Oratory

By J. M. McConnell, Professor of History and Economics in Davidson College.

Any attempt to name or select the leading orators of our State is beset with peculiar difficulties. The criticism of poetry, fiction or essays is considered the province of *literateurs* only and the average man foregoes an expression of opinion; but in the case of oratory, the general public takes a lively interest and feels entirely competent to pass a safe and accurate judgment. In this land of free speech and discussion, where all matters of moment have to receive popular approval, every cross-roads has its local orator and every section or faction its favorite speaker. I take it, however, that those initiating a movement to collect the literary works of North Carolinians wish in the field of oratory to distinguish between mere speaking and real oratory. Let us understand, then, that oratory means the expression, in language simple, beautiful, and impressive, of great common truths, or ennobling thoughts, on an occasion and at a time when these truths or thoughts are stirring the hearts or gripping the minds of men unable to express them for themselves. Vance's Duties in Defeat (1866), or Moore's Argument in the case of the State v. the Slave, Will, would fall flat today. You have to project yourself by imagination into the past to get any idea of their effect. Also, oratory is so much a part of personality, the speaker's physical characteristics, his facial expression, voice, and manner, that it is often difficult to distinguish between the real art and elocution or declamation. Merely to see Webster, with his massive head and herculean shoulders rise in the Senate chamber was an impressive sight; to hear Clay, with a face beaming love to all mankind and a voice like a deep-toned bell, utter the simple phrase "The days that are past and gone," brought tears to your eyes. As some one has said, oratory is a matter of nerves and the blood. Unless a man can "catch fire," feel the tingling of nerves and the rush of hot blood, he cannot be eloquent.

Despite the difficulties of the task and fully aware that my treatment of the subject will show signs of incompleteness, I shall undertake to name some of the leading orators of North Carolina, with one or more of their speeches. For convenience and also for a better understanding and appreciation of historical conditions, I shall treat the subject in four divisions: First, the period of national rights (1789-1820); second, the period of the Rise of Democracy and the Slavery-Tariff Strug-

gle (1820-1860); third, the Civil War period (1860-1880); fourth, the period of Applied Democracy (1880-1914). You will notice that I have omitted the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. We doubtless had some effective speakers in these periods, but I have not found any that could be classed as orators.

In the period of *National Rights* two names should be mentioned, Archibald D. Murphey and William Gaston. Both were men of striking talents, well versed in literature and accomplished speakers. Of the two, however, Gaston's style is superior. Though somewhat rhetorical at times, in keeping with the custom of speakers of that period, he had a literary finish and a fullness of expression that Murphey's speeches do not show. His best efforts were one on the Loan Bill in Congress (1815); his speech in the Convention of 1835, opposing political restrictions against Roman Catholics; and his address at the University of North Carolina and at Princeton University. In a sketch of Murphey's life Governor Graham refers to his speech in the case of Burrow v. Worth, as never having been surpassed "in the forensic displays of the State." Murphey's address before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina is valuable because of references it contains to the leading orators of the State in earlier days. Of W. R. Davie he says: "In the House of Commons he had no rival, and upon all great questions which came before that body his eloquence was irresistible." Again he says, "His style was magnificent and flowing." Of Alfred Moore, for a short time Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, he says: "The public was divided upon the question whether he or Davie excelled at the bar. His speeches were short and impressive. When he sat down every one thought he had said everything that he ought to have said." Of John Stanly, Murphey writes, "He became the most accomplished orator of the State." I have not myself been able to read speeches of any of the men described by Murphey in such glowing terms.

In the *second period* selected for our discussion comes quite a group of names. Among them George E. Badger, W. P. Mangum, B. F. Moore, W. A. Graham, James K. Polk, and Henry W. Miller.

Badger spoke chiefly before the law courts, but was also a conspicuous figure in the United States Senate. Though his style seems to me to lack the literary excellence of Gaston's, he possessed a spontaneity, fluency, and ease of expression that made him a ready and effective speaker. Clearness, self-confidence, readiness, characterize his style. His personality was also attractive and commanding. His speeches in the Senate attracted wide attention. The one on Slavery and the Union delivered in 1848 is probably his best.

In his address on Vance, Mr. R. H. Battle says that "for graces of magnificent oratory" W. P. Mangum "is preëminent in the State." I have had access only to his speeches in Congress, but on examination these did not cause me to rate him quite so high. His fluency, ease and readiness are much like Badger's, and he possessed the same lawyer's quickness in debate. The best brief example of his style I found was his speech on the bill appropriating three million dollars for national defense. It is largely an attack on Van Buren and shows the fire and spirit of a real orator. Mr. Colyer Meriwether in the volume on Southern Biography, in "The South in the Building of the Nation" series, names Mangum as one of three men around whom the greatest part of North Carolina history can be grouped. Macon and Vance are the other two.

B. F. Moore, known as "Father of the North Carolina Bar," was a lawyer of great learning and reputation in the State. He did not possess many of the graces of oratory and probably would be omitted by some in a list of the State's orators, but his argument in the case of the State v. the Negro Slave, Will, touched such a vital issue of the times (the right of the negro slave to defend himself against personal attack by his owner or his agent), and is done in such excellent fashion, that I think he deserves a place among the State's orators.

To this group also belongs James K. Polk, born and educated in North Carolina, though for most of his life a resident of Tennessee. As an orator President Polk was simple and direct. He lacked imagination and figurative expression, but was extremely clear and direct. The title "Napoleon of the Stump" given him by his admirers in Tennessee seems extravagant. Among his best speeches are his speech on the tariff, House of Representatives, 1834, and his inaugurals when he became Governor of Tennessee and when he was inaugurated President.

Though more of a statesman and constructive leader than an orator, Governor W. A. Graham had such a comprehensive grasp of the essential needs of his State, was so highly cultured, polished and elegant in his manner of doing things, that his speeches were quite effective and well received. His voice was excellent and his presence striking and commanding. Though rather dignified and formal, his style has forcefulness and finish.

With the men of this period should be included Henry Watkins Miller, a graduate of the University of North Carolina in 1834. In his History of the University of North Carolina Dr. Kemp P. Battle mentions that during a congressional campaign between Miller and Romulus M. Saunders in the forties, the University faculty gave a half-holiday

to hear a joint debate between the candidates. He says Miller was famous as an orator and always used polished language. Mr. Miller delivered the commencement address at the University in 1857. Dr. Battle in describing the occasion refers to the speaker as "a distinguished orator and eminent lawyer." John P. Kennedy, in his life of William Wirt, says that Miller, when beginning his career as a lawyer, wrote to Mr. Wirt for advice as to the best means of acquiring grace as an orator. In Mr. Kennedy's opinion, Miller's future fully justified his seeking directions from the distinguished Virginian.

In the *Civil War* period one name stands out preëminent. Examine any general collection of oratory you may choose and, almost without exception, you will find that Z. B. Vance is selected as the representative of North Carolina. Gaston and Badger, and perhaps others, unquestionably surpassed him in literary training and finish and it seems were equally as fluent. But in freshness and originality of thought and expression, in a rich vein of humor and a warm human touch, Vance surpassed all the other great speakers of our State. He could captivate, hold and sway a great audience as probably no other speaker of our State has ever done. Imagination, originality, humor, sentiment, remarkable powers of expression, a splendid voice, a compelling manner and a superb physique all combined to make him almost an ideal orator. Mr. Colyer Meriwether, in Southern Biography, says of him: "Vance was one of the most upright, facile, marvelous voices that a local democracy has ever found for uttering its hopes and aspirations. The son of a small farmer and slave-owner in the western part of the State; of limited education, obtained almost in the little neighborhood schools; of tall, commanding presence; of abounding humor, unfailing cheerfulness and ever-ready homely wit, he was bountifully endowed by both nature and circumstance to be an interpreter for the two great social classes in his State." His best speeches probably were made on the stump during political campaigns, but occasionally he delivered formal addresses. Among his best printed productions are "The Scattered Nation," "The Duties of Defeat," and his speeches in the United States Senate on the tariff.

In the era of *Applied Democracy* (1880-1914), following the Civil War, no one has so impressed himself upon the people of our State as an orator of rank as the late Charles B. Aycock. He had a great theme, the education of all the people, which appealed to him with all the force of a definite call. Governor Aycock's style and ability as an orator are too well known to this audience to need description here. Simplicity of language, sincerity of purpose, fluency of utterance, aptness of illustration and an unrestrained fervor were his chief characteristics.

His style and theme are perhaps best illustrated by his speech before the Southern Educational Association, Jacksonville, 1903.

For obvious reasons I shall not undertake to name our present-day orators. And yet I feel that there will be general agreement when I say that Dr. E. A. Alderman, a son of North Carolina, now President of the University of Virginia, has won for himself as an orator a national fame that has brought honor to his native State. Among his best productions are his speech on Virginia, excellent for its mechanics of style and a certain richness of feeling; one on J. L. M. Curry, a careful study of a unique personality; and a sympathetic study of the life and work of Charles D. McIver, himself a speaker of great force and influence in the State.

In closing we may draw some general conclusions:

First, our State has produced a number of orators of genuine merit, whose speeches deserve to be collected as examples of our literary works in the field of oratory.

Second, most of our prominent speakers have been members of the legal profession. This is due to two reasons as I see it: because we have had an exceptionally able bar throughout the history of the State, and because the jury trial, the most fundamental of all our democratic institutions, has offered a splendid opportunity for the training of oratorical gifts. The members of the State bar have enjoyed the confidence of the people, and have filled a large number of the highest offices in the gift of the people.

Third, anyone undertaking to collect specimens of North Carolina oratory should be in easy reach of the State records and the files of the University. Most of our prominent speakers have been connected as students, or otherwise, with the University of North Carolina, or have held high official position in the State.

North Carolina Bibliography for the Year

BY MISS MINNIE W. LEATHERMAN, SECRETARY OF THE LIBRARY COMMISSION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The term bibliography is used here in its broadest sense. Most of us believe that once a North Carolinian always a North Carolinian, even though one may reside in some other State for fifty years. On the other hand, we all know that it is impossible for anyone so unfortunate as to have been born outside of North Carolina to come into the State and live among us for any length of time without getting a good deal of tar on his heels and becoming a pretty good sort of North Carolinian. Hence, this bibliography includes not only the work of men and women born in North Carolina and still residing within its borders, but also the work of those North Carolinians who are living in other States as well as of those men and women who claim North Carolina by adoption.

This year I was requested to introduce a new feature into the bibliography and to include not only books, parts of books, and pamphlets, but also contributions to magazines and other periodical publications. This has been done, but of course it is manifestly impossible to have this part of the report complete.

The report is divided into four parts:

1. New Books and Pamphlets
2. Reprints
3. Continuations
4. Contributions to Periodicals.

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ARTHUR, John Preston. Western North Carolina; a history from 1730-1913. 710 pages, por. facsim. Edward Buncombe Chapter of the D. A. R. of Asheville (Edwards & Broughton Printing Co.), 1914. $2.50.

BAKER, Mrs. G. S. (Eugene Hall, pseud.) Vernal Dune. N. Y. Neale, 1913.

BROOKS, Eugene Clyde. Agriculture and Rural Life Day; material for its observance. (Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1913, No. 43.) 77 pages, O. Superintendent of Documents. Paper, 10 cents.

BROUGHTON, Leonard Gaston. Christianity and the Commonplace. 201 pages, D. Doran (June), 1914. $1.00 net.

BROUGHTON, Leonard Gaston. The Prodigal and Others. 234 pages, D. Revell (March), 1914. $1.00 net.

BROUGHTON, Leonard Gaston. Where Are the Dead? with testimony

by the Rev. F. B. Meyer and others. 394 pages, O., illustrated. Atlanta, Phillips-Boyd Publishing Company, 1914. $1.50.

Cobb, Collier. Pocket Dictionary of Common Rocks and Rock Minerals. 42 pages. Chapel Hill, University of N. C., c1914 (printed by the Seeman Printery).

Dixon, Thomas. The Victim; a romance of the real Jefferson Davis; illustrated by J. N. Marchand. 510 pages, D. Appleton (June), 1914. $1.35 net.

Foster, Carolyn Agnes (Mrs. Edgar M. Marlbourg). Carter Family of North Carolina; Descendants of Robert Carter, of Bertie County. 40 pages, O., illustrated, portrait. Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, pref. 1914. $2.50.

Fulton, Maurice Garland. College Life; its conditions and problems. Macmillan, 1914.

Graves, T. S. The Court and the London Theater during the Reign of Elizabeth. 93 pages, O. Banta Publishing Company, 1913. Paper, 50 cents.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac. Reconstruction in North Carolina. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. 58, No. 141.) 693 pages, O. Longmans (July), 1914. $4.50 net; paper, $4.00.

Haywood, Marshall De Lancey. Ballads of Courageous North Carolinians; some versified legends of the Old North State founded upon fact, fancy and fiction. 51 pages, D. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company (December), 1914. $1.00.
May be obtained from Alfred Williams, Raleigh.

Henderson, Archibald. The Changing Drama—contributions and tendencies. 321 pages. Holt (October), 1914. $1.50 net.
English edition published in London by Grant Richards.

Henderson, Archibald. European Dramatists. 395 pages, D., illustrated. Stewart & Kidd (December), 1913. $1.50 net.
English edition published in London by Grant Richards, 1914.

Henry, Beulah Louise. Silent Chords. 54 pages. Charlotte, 1914.

Hill, William Laurie. Master of the Red Buck and Bay Doe. 297 pages, D., illustrated. Charlotte, Stone Publishing Company (December), 1913. $1.50 net.

Johnson, C. H. Your Uncle Charlie's Poetical Love Letters. 45 pages. Paper, 25 cents.
May be obtained from the author at East Bend, N. C.

Johnson, J. McNeill. Thousand Years With Royalty; a story of the English kings. 94 pages, por., D. Bell, c1913.

Morley, Margaret Warner. Spark of Life. 62 pages. Revell, 1913. 25 cents.

MORLEY, Margaret Warner. Will o' the Wisps. 161 pages, D., illustrated. McClurg (December), 1913. $1.25.

RIDDLE, C. B., Editor. College Men Without Money. 287 pages, D. Crowell, 1914. $1.00.

ROLLINS, James M. Arrest, Trial and Conviction of Jesus Christ from a Lawyer's Standpoint. 71 pages, por., S. St. Louis, Hughes Printing Company, n. d. $1.00.

SIKES, William Marvin. The Gospel for the Laymen's Age. 148 pages. Broadway Publishing Company, 1913.

TIERNAN, Mrs. Frances Christine (Fisher). (Christian Reid, pseud.) Cords of Nature; a story. Columbus Press, 1913. 5 cents.

TIERNAN, Mrs. Frances Christine (Fisher). Daughter of a Star. 349 pages, D. Devin-Adair (December), 1913. $1.35 net.

TILLERY, A. V. Dream verses. Rocky Mount, Transcript Press. 48 pages.

WEEKS, Stephen B., Compiler and Editor. Index to the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 4 (S-Z), with an historical review. Raleigh, E. M. Uzzell & Co., 1914. 440-169 pages, Q. $3.00.

WHITING, Mrs. Roberta Harris. Rose Petals. 51 pages, Q. Broadway Publishing Company, c1913. $1.00.

REPRINTS

BOYD, William K. Currency and Banking in North Carolina, 1790-1834. 35 pages, O.

Reprinted from the Historical Papers, Series 10, published by the Trinity College Historical Society.

BOYD, William K. Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund. 22 pages, O.

A reprint of articles in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* of July and October, 1914. See below.

COLTON, Elizabeth Avery. Approximate Value of Recent Degrees of Southern Colleges. 14 pages, O.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the South, 1913.

COLTON, Elizabeth Avery. Improvement in Standards of Southern Colleges Since 1900. 20 pages, O.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Association of College Women, 1913, by the United States Bureau of Education.

HENDERSON, Archibald. August Strindberg: Universalist.

Reprinted from the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* January, 1914. 15 pages. See below.

Henderson, Archibald. An American Bookshelf. 10 pages.
Reprinted for the *Sewanee Review* of October, 1914. See below.
The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion. 21 pages.
Reprinted for the *American Historical Review* of October, 1914. See below.

Weeks, Stephen B. Historical Review of the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina. 169 pages, Q. Raleigh, Trustees of the Public Libraries, 1914.
Reprinted from the fourth volume of the Index to the North Carolina Colonial and State Records.

Winston, R. W. Legal Reform, Genuine and Spurious. Address delivered before the South Carolina Bar Association at a meeting held at Columbia, S. C. Washington, 1914. (63d Congress, 2d session, Senate document No. 377.)

CONTINUATIONS

North Carolina Booklet, January-October, 1914:
Volume XIII, No. 3. New Year's Shooting, an ancient German custom, by William A. Graham; Early Times on the Cape Fear, by S. A. Ashe; Abstract of Vol. 2 of Dr. Battle's History of the University of North Carolina; Rowan County Marriage Bonds, by Mrs. M. G. McCubbins.
Volume XIII, No. 4. Memories of 1865-1871, by J. T. Alderman; Anson County, by Mrs. J. G. Boylin; The Pflegerin, by Adelaide L. Fries; Biographical Sketch of Mrs. Spier Whitaker, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.
Volume XIV, No. 1. Heraldry and its Usage in the Colony of North Carolina, by Mary Hilliard Hinton; The State of Franklin, by S. A. Ashe; Sir Richard Everard * * * and his Descendants in Virginia, by Marshall De Lancey Haywood.
Volume XIV, No. 2. Extracts from Remarks Delivered at Roanoke Island Celebration, August, 1914, by Howard E. Rondthaler; General Francis Nash, by A. M. Waddell; Early English Survivals on Hatteras Island, by Collier Cobb; The Weather, by R. B. Creecy; The Cary Will; Biographical Sketches of Contributors.

North Carolina Historical Commission—North Carolina Manual—for the use of the members of the General Assembly; compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. 1053 pages, D. E. M. Uzzell & Company, 1913.

North Carolina Year Book and Business Directory, 1914. 468 pages, map, D. Raleigh, *News and Observer,* 1914. $2.00.

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, published under the direction of the Philological Club of the University of North Carolina. Vols. 10-11.

JAMES SPRUNT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Henry M. Wagstaff. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina. Vol. 13.

TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Papers, Series 10.

The *South Atlantic Quarterly, North Carolina Education, Skyland,* the *North Carolina Library Bulletin* and the publications of the various colleges and universities have been issued regularly during the year.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS

BOYD, William K. Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund. *South Atlantic Quarterly,* July-October, 1914.
Afterwards reprinted as a separate. See above.

BROOKS, Eugene Clyde. Seven, Eight, and Nine Years in the Elementary School. *Elementary School Teacher,* September-October, 1913, pages 20-28; 82-92.

CONNOR, H. G. The Granville Case and North Carolina. *Law Review,* University of Pennsylvania, October, 1914.

DIXON, Thomas. American Backgrounds for Fiction. *Bookman,* January, 1914, pages 511-4.

HENDERSON, Archibald. An American Bookshelf. *Sewanee Review,* October, 1914, pages 483-93.
Afterwards printed as a reprint. See above.

——— The Printed Play: a New Technic. *The Drama,* November, 1913, pages 124-147.

——— A New Dramatist. *Dial,* December 1, 1913, pages 474-6.

——— August Strindberg: Universalist. *South Atlantic Quarterly,* January, 1914, pages 28-42.
Afterwards printed as a reprint. See above.

——— American Dramatic Criticism. *The Drama,* May, 1914, pages 238-44.

——— Margaret Busbee Shipp. *Skyland,* August, 1914, pages 620-4.

——— Transvaluation of Contemporary Dramatic Values. *The Drama,* August, 1914, pages 434-58.
Afterwards printed as a reprint. See above.

——— The Drama. Report of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Drama League of America. September, 1914.

——— The Quintessence of Modernity. *Dial,* September 16, 1914, pages 201-2.

———— The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion. *American Historical Review,* October, 1914, pages 86-107.

Henderson, Barbara (Mrs. Archibald Henderson), translator. A Chant of Hate Against England, by Ernest Lissauer, rendered into English verse by Barbara Henderson.

This is a translation of the "Hassgesang gegen England," by Ernest Lissauer, which appeared in the *Lokal-Anzeiger,* published in Düsseldorf, Germany.

Mrs. Henderson's remarkable translation, prefaced by an article by Archibald Henderson, appeared in the *New York Times* of October 15, 1914. Since that time it has appeared in the leading magazines throughout the English speaking world—in the *Outlook* of October 28; the *Independent* of November 2; the *Literary Digest* of November 4; the *London Daily Mail* of October 28; the *London Times* of October 29; and virtually all the leading English newspapers. It was also widely copied in Japan.

Kephart, Horace. Adventures in a Cavern. *Outing,* October, 1914, pages 83-9.

———— Emergency Rations. *Outing,* April, 1914, pages 84-8.

———— Featherweight Camping in England. *Outing,* September, 1914, pages 715-22.

———— Going Alone. *Outing,* August, 1914, pages 601-2.

———— Woodcraft Tips Worth Knowing. *Outing,* May, 1914, pages 207-9.

Laprade, William Thomas. Nominating Primary. *North American Review,* August, 1914, pages 235-43.

Shipp, Mrs. Margaret (Busbee). Born: an American. *Youth's Companion,* February, 1914, page 96.

———— The Builders. *Smith's Magazine,* September, 1914.

———— Condolences for Cynthia. *Munsey,* November, 1913, pages 242-5.

———— First Cousins Once Removed. *Woman's Home Companion,* October, 1913, page 10.

———— Sweet Margaret. *Woman's Home Companion,* August, 1914, page 8.

Tiernan, Mrs. Frances Christine (Fisher). Testing of Isabel. *Catholic World,* February, 1914, pages 615-32.

Weeks, Stephen B. Sketch of John Chavis, negro educator. *Southern Workman* (Hampton Normal Institute), February, 1914.

———— Sketch of George Moses Horton, negro poet. *Southern Workman,* October, 1914.

Presentation of Gifts to the State

BY PRESIDENT ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Ladies and Gentlemen: On December 4, 1912, at a meeting of this Association, I had the honor to secure the passage of a series of resolutions looking to the stimulation and enlargement of our literary and cultural activities. Of these resolutions, which were carried, one reads as follows:

That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to petition the Building Committee for the reservation of adequate space in the projected new Hall of History, to be used permanently as a section devoted to the literature of North Carolina. Furthermore, that this committee be permanent, having for its objects to honor in tangible form the literary achievements of our people, and to preserve the literary remains of our native writers of eminence. That this be done through the preservation and display, in the section before mentioned in the new Hall of History, of portraits of our men and women of letters, autographed sets of their works, original manuscripts, letters from eminent men and women of letters testifying to the value of such literary works, medallions, busts, and all forms of suitable memorials, which may keep green the memory of noble works, finely conceived and artfully executed.

I do not know whether or not this committee was ever appointed, but I do know that the Secretary of this Association, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, who has labored so unselfishly and unremittingly in the interest of the Association, has written many letters to stimulate interest in these matters. Feeling most strongly, as I do, that literary memorials displayed in the Hall of History, for the inspection of the 100,000 people who pass through it in a year, will serve as a powerful incentive and inspiration to native literary talent, and awaken in our people a due sense of pride in North Carolina's literary contribution; I have proceeded this year upon my own initiative to encourage such gifts of literary and other memorials to the State.

Tonight there will occur the exercises in connection with the unveiling of the O. Henry Memorial. We have heard this morning an eloquent tribute to that distinguished poet, whose poems were nationally appreciated by great poets and often found first publication in our greatest national magazines, the late Henry Jerome Stockard. I beg to present to the Hall of History, on behalf of Mrs. Stockard, an autograph copy, with signature, of Dr. Stockard's notable poem in memory of the Women of the Confederacy read upon the occasion of the unveiling of the monument presented to the State by the late Ashley Horne.

Some years ago I had the pleasure of publishing a little monograph on Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, whose presentation of two bags of gold to General Nathanael Greene in the darkest hour of his reverses in the campaign of the Carolinas, is an episode celebrated in our national annals. In that monograph were reproduced for the first time a series of extremely interesting letters, concerned with military, local and family affairs during the years 1778 to 1786, written from Salisbury, N. C., by Mrs. Steel to her brother, Ephraim Steel, in Carlisle, Pa. These letters belonged to the Misses Martha Jane and Margaret Anne Steele, the grand-daughters of Ephraim Steel. Of these ladies it has been written: "They have lived nearly all of their days in Carlisle, are known by its entire community, and are universally loved and esteemed for their modest worth and kindly ways:" I beg to announce, in behalf of these two ladies, their generous gift of these rare and valuable letters of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel to the State of North Carolina. It gives me great pleasure to supplement their gift with a picture in tint of Mrs. Steel and General Greene—after a steel engraving of the original painting by the famous painter of Revolutionary scenes, Alonzo Chappel.

In behalf of the Association, I wish to express our grateful appreciation for the following valuable and unique literary memorials presented to the Hall of History:

A portrait in tone of William Sidney Porter, by the great artist, Van der Weyde, of New York City, presented by Mrs. W. S. Porter.

An autograph poem in Scotch dialect, "Told On," by the "Scotchman," the late John Charles McNeill, donated by his brother, Mr. W. L. McNeill, of Wagram, N. C.

An autograph, unpublished poem, signed "J. H. B.," entitled "De Profundis," written by John Henry Boner, donated by Mrs. Stevenson, of Winston-Salem.

A letter written from Raleigh by John Henry Boner, donated by Miss Amelia Van Vleck, of Winston-Salem, N. C.

A steel engraving of John Henry Boner, donated by Professor Ernest L. Starr, of Salem Academy and College.

Some sheets of the autograph manuscript of O. Henry for one of his famous short stories, donated by Mr. Arthur W. Page, editor of *The World's Work*.

Two books: a presentation copy of "The Impending Crisis," with the dedication and autograph signature of the author, Hinton Rowan Helper, and an association copy of "The Sectional Struggle," with the dedication to the American poet, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and the

autograph signature of the author, Cicero W. Harris, and bearing Stedman's book plate, donated by Archibald Henderson, of Chapel Hill.

In presenting these gifts to the State of North Carolina, in behalf of the authors, I would venture the hope that the custom thus inaugurated may be followed each year at the meetings of the Association, and that these literary and historic memorials may find the worthy place which they deserve in the Hall of History.

NOTE.—In connection with certain of the above mentioned gifts, the following communication was received from Dr. Henderson:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:—It gives me pleasure to call attention to the fact that, for the gift of the autograph poem and letter of John Henry Boner, the Association is indebted to Professor Ernest L. Starr, of Salem Academy and College, who was instrumental in inspiring the owners to present them to the State.

In a letter to me, Professor Starr, who is an authority on Boner and has written the ablest appreciation of this distinguished North Carolina poet I have ever seen, says of the poem, "De Profundis": "It dates, as exactly as I can place it, from 1876—certainly between 1876 and 1879. You will notice that it was written prior to the publication of his first volume 'Whispering Pines,' Brentanos, 1883." The poem follows below:

DE PROFUNDIS.

O, there are hours when we fain would die,
Times when the mind's philosophy quite fails
To satisfy the heart, whose agony—too deep for wails
Of tearful anguish—grows too keen to bear,
When God seems to despise the piteous prayer
Of the imploring Soul at Heaven's gate,
And His sweet love, that love so sweet in grief
Or pain or death, seems turned to hate.

Dear Lord, if it be sinful, pardon me
For my mind's weakness; but I have a faith
Firm and complete—
That all of us once having tasted Death
Atone for Life, and meet
In Thine Eternity
With equal bliss, Lord, where Thou wilt reveal
All that our vague religions now conceal.

J. H. B.

The letter to Miss Amelia Van Vleck, written from Raleigh on May 11, 1864, is remarkable in view of the self-prophecy it contains. Already, young Boner was convinced of the importance of his mission and cherished firm faith in the greatness of his powers, potential if not yet wholly realized, as a poet. The striking passage, which now becomes historic, reads as follows: "I was most agreeably surprised today by meeting with Eug. Williams. I

dearly love him. We spent the forenoon together in strolling about and lounging in Capitol Square—a very fine place, by-the-bye, for a stroll. He is a very ambitious young man, and while we were in the Commons Hall of the State House, speaking of the 'by-gones,' when the arched dome of that royal-looking chamber echoed the eloquent words of Ryner, Shepherd, and others, he suddenly turned to me, with a proud smile upon his face, and said: 'Boner, the day is not far distant when I will occupy one of these seats!' Then *my* courage was aroused, and, with a smile *prouder*, no doubt, than my friend's, I replied: 'Yes, Williams, and the day is not far distant when the Old North State can claim its first Poet!' What lofty castles youth does build! But not *all* dreams are broken—and I fully believe that *mine* will be realized. The poems which I write now are *well received*—and I am sure that I will be able to write more polishedly when I have acquired a knowledge of the language and stored my brain with classic lore. And this I intend to do. It is not too late, by any means. But do not think that I rely upon my *own* strength in all this.—Rest assured, I do not."

O. HENRY EVENING

O. Henry

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN RALEIGH, N. C., DECEMBER 2, 1914, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE O. HENRY MEMORIAL, BY C. ALPHONSO SMITH.

I.

If by some magic power I could re-create the scene that is uppermost in my thought this evening it would be a marriage scene of ninety years ago. The exact date is April 22, 1824, the place a little church village near Greensboro called Center. Jonathan Worth, who was later to become Governor of North Carolina, had wedded two days before Martitia Daniel, of Virginia, and Jonathan Worth's sister Ruth had just married Sidney Porter, of Connecticut. The brother's infare served as wedding reception for the sister. The parents, Doctor and Mrs. David Worth, at whose home the double wedding was being celebrated, were widely known for their hospitality, their charity, and their rare directive efficiency in all community affairs. The little village had never witnessed a scene of so much genial mirth or of such wide-reaching social interest. Could I have been present when the infare was at its height, when congratulation and prophecy were bringing their mingled tributes to father and mother and to son and daughter, I should not have been an unwelcome visitor, I think, if I had lifted the veil of the future for a moment and said to Dr. Worth and his wife: "Eighty-three years from now a statue will be dedicated in the capital of North Carolina to one of Jonathan's grandsons, the first statue to be erected by popular subscription to a North Carolina soldier, and the name engraved upon it will be that of Worth Bagley; and ninety years from today a memorial tablet will be dedicated in the same city to one of Ruth's grandsons, the only monument ever erected in the State to literary genius, and the name engraved upon it will be that of William Sidney Porter."

It is fitting, therefore, that if the State of North Carolina has honored the sword of Jonathan Worth's grandson, she honor equally the pen of his sister's grandson, for both sword and pen were used in the cause of a common national service. It is fitting also to recall that when William Sidney Porter knew that death, and a lonely death, was only an arm's length from him, he smiled in the old way and met it with a cheer, because, says one who was with him, he remembered that honored blood was in his veins and the magic word Sidney in his name.

This is neither the time nor the place for a biography of O. Henry.

The occasion prompts one, however, at least to a survey of his formative years, especially those spent in North Carolina, to a consideration of his success as a short story writer in New York, and to a tentative appraisal of what seems to be his distinctive contribution to American literature.

II.

O. Henry's life falls naturally into two periods, a period of preparation extending to 1902, and a period of achievement extending from 1902, when he settled in New York, to his death in 1910. He was born on West Market street, Greensboro, N. C., September 11, 1862. His mother died when he was only three years old but he cherished through life the tenderest thought of her and used often to speak with mingled pride and affection of the poems that she had written. Her maiden name was Mary Jane Virginia Swaim. She studied at the Edgeworth Female Seminary in Greensboro and at the Greensboro Female College, graduating from the latter in 1850 at the age of seventeen. Her graduating essay bore the title, "The Influence of Misfortune on the Gifted." I have in my possession several of her letters written in early girlhood and one of her text-books, Dr. Archibald Alexander's "Evidences of Christianity." The fly leaves are covered with selections from her favorite poets and with dainty sketches of gates, houses, trees, and flowers. A faded note written by one of her teachers when she was thirteen shows that she was studying algebra, philosophy, English grammar, and rhetoric. "She ranks," says the note, "No. 1 in her studies, has an excellent mind, and will no doubt make a fine scholar."

What is more pertinent, however, is that her letters even as a child show a nimble and alert humor that breaks through the prim formalities of the time with surprising and delightful frequency. One of her classmates writes: "Miss Mary Swaim was noted in her school days as a writer of beautiful English and the school girls came to depend upon her for their compositions. She wrote most of the graduating esaays for the students." In character, in temperament, in literary taste, and in a certain instinctive shyness, O. Henry owed much to his mother.

To his father, Dr. Algernon Sidney Porter, he certainly owed in part his sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men, his overflowing generosity, his indifference to caste,—in a word, his constant and essential democracy. To the same source may be ascribed, through association at least, some of O. Henry's constructive ingenuity. Dr. Porter was for several years the best known and the best loved physician in Guilford County. An old friend of his, to whom the memory of Dr. Porter brought tears, said recently: "He was the best-hearted man I ever knew; honest, high-toned, and generous. Rain or shine, sick or well,

he would visit the poorest family in the county. He would have been a rich man if he had collected a half of what was due him. His iron-gray hair and the shape of his head reminded you of Zeb Vance."

My own memory of Dr. Porter—he died in 1888—is of a small man with a huge head and long beard, quiet, gentle, soft-voiced, self-effacing, who looked at you as if from another world and who walked with a step so noiseless, so absolutely echoless, as to attract attention. This characteristic also was inherited by his gifted son who always seemed to me to be treading on down. They used to say of Dr. Porter that he had a far better scientific knowledge of medicine and drugs than any other physician in the community. He had studied under Dr. David Weir and for a time lectured on chemistry at the Edgeworth Female Seminary of which Dr. Weir was principal. Dr. Porter's interests veered, however, more and more to inventions, and less and less to the actual practice of medicine. A perpetual motion water-wheel became his vocation, his avocations being a churn, a washing machine, a horseless carriage to be run by steam, and a cotton picking contrivance that was to take the place of negro labor. In one of his last interviews O. Henry said that he often found himself recalling the days when as a boy he used to lie sprawling and dreaming on the old barn floor in Greensboro while his father worked quietly and assiduously on his perpetual motion water-wheel.

But the strongest influence brought to bear on O. Henry during his life in North Carolina was the influence of his aunt, Miss Evelina Maria Porter, known by every one as Miss Lina. The death of his mother when he was only three years of age and the increasing absorption of his father in fruitless inventions resulted in Miss Lina's taking the place of both parents, and this she did not only with whole-souled devotion but with rare and efficient intelligence. Her little schoolroom on the Porter premises has long been removed, but it still lives in the grateful memory of all who attended it and has attained a new immortality in the fame of its most brilliant pupil. O. Henry attended no other school and he attended this only to the age of fifteen. Miss Lina did not spare the rod but I have never known a pupil of her school, whether doctor, teacher, preacher, lawyer, or judge, who did not say that every application of the rod, so far as he was concerned, was amply and urgently deserved. To have been soundly whipped by Miss Lina is still regarded in Greensboro as a sort of spiritual bond of union, linking together the citizens of the town in a community of cutaneous experience, for which they would not exchange a college diploma.

But we are more concerned here with Miss Lina's method of teaching literature. She had a method and O. Henry's lifelong love of good

books was the fruitage of her method. She did not teach the history of literature but she labored in season and out of season to have her pupils assimilate the spirit of literature. Her reading in the best English literature was, if not wide, at least intimate and appreciative. She loved books as she loved flowers, because her nature demanded them. Fiction and poetry were her means of widening and enriching her own inner life, not of learning facts about the world without. She did not measure literature by life but life by literature. I have often thought that Miss Lina must have been in O. Henry's thought when he wrote those suggestive words about Azalea Adair in "A Municipal Report": "She was a product of the old South, gently nurtured in the sheltered life. Her learning was not broad, but was deep and of splendid originality in its somewhat narrow scope. She had been educated at home, and her knowledge of the world was derived from inference and by inspiration. Of such is the precious, small group of essayists made. While she talked to me I kept brushing my fingers, trying, unconsciously, to rid them guiltily of the absent dust from the half-calf backs of Lamb, Chaucer, Hazlitt, Marcus Aurelius, Montaigne, and Hood. She was exquisite, she was a valuable discovery. Nearly everybody nowadays knows too much—oh, so much too much—of real life."

Miss Lina used regularly to gather her boys about her at recess and read to them from some classic author. When she saw that she had caught their interest she would announce a Friday night meeting in the schoolroom at which they would pop corn and roast chestnuts and she would continue the readings. "I did more reading," says O. Henry, "between my thirteenth and nineteenth years than I have done in all the years since, and my taste at that time was much better than it is now, for I used to read nothing but the classics. Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' and Lane's translation of 'The Arabian Nights' were my favorites." During his busy years in New York he often remarked to Mrs. Porter: "I never have time to read now. I did all my reading before I was twenty." This did not, of course, refer to newspapers which he devoured three or four times a day.

But Miss Lina believed that the best way to learn or to appreciate the art of narration was to try your hand at it yourself. You might never become a great writer but you would at least have a first-hand acquaintance with the discipline that well-knit narrative involves. In the intervals, therefore, between chestnut roastings and classic readings an original story would be started, every one present having to make an impromptu contribution when called on. Each contribution, being expected to grow naturally out of the incidents that preceded it, demanded

of course the closest attention to all that had hitherto been said. The most difficult role in this narrative program fell of course to the pupil who tried to halt the windings of the story by an interesting and adequate conclusion. To do this required not only a memory that retained vividly the incidents and characters already projected into the story but a constructive imagination that could interpret and fuse them. Need I say that the creator of "The Four Million" found his keenest delight in this exercise or that his contributions were those most eagerly awaited by teacher and pupil?

But when O. Henry's boyhood friends recall him it is not as a pupil in Miss Lina's school; nor is it as the writer in the great city, whose stories count their readers by the million. It is as the clerk in his uncle Clark Porter's drug store on Elm street. Here he was known and loved by old and young, black and white, rich and poor. He was the wag of the town, but so quiet, so unobtrusive, so apparently preoccupied that it was his pencil rather than his tongue that spread his local fame. His feeling for the ludicrous, for the odd, for the distinctive, in speech, tone, appearance, conduct, or character responded instantly to the appeal made by the drug store constituency. Not that he was not witty: he was. But his best things were said with the pencil. There was not a man or woman in the town whom he could not reproduce recognizably with a few strokes of a lead pencil, though he never took a lesson in drawing. Thus it was a common occurrence, when Mr. Clark Porter returned to the store from lunch, for a conversation like this to take place: O. Henry would say: "Uncle Clark, a man called to see you a little while ago to pay a bill." It should be premised that it was not good form in those days to ask a man to stand and deliver either his name or the amount due. "Who was it?" Mr. Porter would ask. "I never saw him before but he looks like this," and the pencil would dash up and down a piece of wrapping paper. "O, that's Bill Jenkins out here at Reedy Fork. He owes me $7.25."

His pencil sketches sometimes gave offense, especially when some admirer would hang them in the store window, but rarely. He was absolutely without malice. There was about him also a gentleness of manner, a delicacy of feeling, a refinement in speech and demeanor that was as much a part of him as his humor. No one who knew him in the old days could be surprised at the indignation with which in later years he resented the constant comparison of his work with that of De Maupassant, though he kept a copy of De Maupassant always at hand. No two writers ever lived more diametrically opposed than O. Henry and De Maupassant except in technique. "I have been called," he said, "the American De Maupassant. Well, I never wrote a filthy word in

my life, and I don't like to be compared to a filthy writer." Vulgarity was never funny to him; it was only disgusting. Like Edgar Allan Poe, with whom he had little else in common, O. Henry was honored during his whole life with the understanding friendship of a few noble-spirited women who in the early days as in the later helped, I think, to keep his compass true.

George Eliot, in "Romola," tells of the part played in mediæval Florence by the barber shop. A somewhat analogous part was played in Greensboro a generation ago by the drug store. Greensboro itself, it may be said, was more than a typical small town. Its widely patronized law school and schools for women, the standing of its preachers and judges, its graded school which was the first to be established in the State, its nearness to the Revolutionary battle field of Guilford Court House, its varied though limited produce due to its mid-state situation, and the comparative absence of violent political antagonisms made it a good town to be born in and a wholesome town to live in. It contained not more than five thousand inhabitants but the drug store was the rendezvous of all classes. It was in fact the social, political, and anecdotal clearing house of the town. The patronage of the grocery stores and dry goods stores was controlled in part by denominational lines, but everybody patronized the drug store. It was also a sort of physical confessional. The man who would expend only a few words in purchasing a ham or a hat would talk half an hour of his aches and ills or those of his family before buying twenty-five cents worth of pills or a ten-cent bottle of liniment. When the ham or the hat was paid for and taken away there was usually an end of it. Not so with the pills or the liniment. The patient usually came back to continue his personal or family history and to add a sketch of the character and conduct of the pills or liniment. All this was grist to O. Henry's mill.

No man, I think, without a training similar to O. Henry's would be likely to write such a story as "Makes the Whole World Kin." A burglar, you remember, has entered a house at night. "Hold up both your hands," he said. "Can't raise the other one," was the reply. "What's the matter with it?" "Rheumatism in the shoulder." "Inflammatory?" asked the burglar. "Was. The inflammation has gone down." "'Scuse me," said the burglar, "but it just socked me one, too." "How long have you had it?" inquired the citizen. "Four years." "Ever try rattlesnake oil?" asked the citizen. "Gallons. If all the snakes I've used the oil of was strung out in a row they'd reach eight times as far as Saturn, and the rattles could be heard at Valparaiso, Indiana, and back." In the end the burglar helps the citizen to dress and they go out together, the burglar standing treat.

The drawings that O. Henry used to make of the characters that frequented the drug store were not caricatures. There was usually, it is true, an over-emphasis put upon some one trait but this trait was the central trait, the over-emphasis serving only to interpret and reveal the character as a whole. Examining these sketches anew, when the characters themselves are thirty odd years older than they were then, one is struck with the resemblance still existing. In fact O. Henry's sketches reproduce the characters as they are today more faithfully than do the photographs taken at the same time. The photographs have been outgrown, but not the sketches; for the sketches caught the central and permanent, while the photographs made no distinction. In O. Henry's story called "A Madison Square Arabian Night" an artist, picked at random from the "free-bed line," is made to say: "Whenever I finished a picture people would come to see it, and whisper and look queerly at one another. I soon found out what the trouble was. I had a knack of bringing out in the face of a portrait the hidden character of the original. I don't know how I did it—I painted what I saw."

III.

In 1882, at the age of twenty, O. Henry moved from Greensboro to Texas. His life in Texas has been succinctly told in the pages of the *New York Bookman* and will be only summarized here. It may be that his health had something to do with his going to Texas, but far more significant were the accounts that used to come to us in Greensboro of the adventures of the Hall boys in Texas. O. Henry thrilled over these stories and made us thrill over them, but I never heard him mention his health and never thought of him as frail. One of the most memorable characters in Greensboro a generation ago was Dr. James K. Hall, a giant of a man, who, from habit if not from necessity, used to stoop whenever he entered an ordinary doorway. Dr. Hall had succeeded to the practice that had once been O. Henry's father's and was of course an habitué of Mr. Clark Porter's drug store. His two sons, Dick and Lee, were the first Greensboro men to hear and heed the call of Texas. They settled in LaSalle County and became noted Texas Rangers. O. Henry used to hold us breathless with the hair-breadth 'scapes of these two Carolinians whose parents lived quiet and honored lives among us but whose adventures along the Nueces and the Rio Grande made the romance of LaSalle and Webb counties seem to us a close second to "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." LaSalle County became our ideal borderland. We read Scott and Cooper but we thought of LaSalle County.

No one was surprised, therefore, when O. Henry slipped quietly

away and settled in LaSalle County with Dick and Lee Hall. His life on the ranch, his happy marriage in Austin, his experiences with "The Rolling Stone," his work on the *Houston Post,* his visits to New Orleans and Central America contributed enormously to widen his vision, to deepen and diversify his knowledge of life, and thus to make possible the inimitable work of later years. He learned in three months to speak Mexican Spanish like a native, his reading became more and more inclusive, his association with Mrs. Dick Hall served to relight the torch received from Miss Lina, his experiences in an Austin drug store and land office supplemented and enlarged the experiences gained in his uncle's store, and the six months in Honduras not only gave the material for "Cabbages and Kings," but contributed the necessary contrast and perspective to all that had gone before.

IV.

When O. Henry arrived in New York in 1902 his formative years had passed and his genuinely creative work was to begin. His preparation had been thorough, continuous, and peculiarly adapted to the work that he was to do. From Miss Lina's school to New York may justly be called his "In the Workshop" period; his eight years in New York were his "In the World" period. During these last eight years he published nearly all of the two hundred and fifty-two stories that now circulate in book form. His most prolific years were 1904 and 1905. In 1904 he published sixty-seven stories and in 1905 fifty-two. No other years of his life approximated such an output. When we consider not only the number of these stories but their range of theme, their variety of *locale,* their differences of mood and manner, their technical excellence, and their steadily increasing appeal in book form to the reading public, it becomes evident that a new chapter has been added to the annals of narrative genius in this country. When O. Henry began to write, there was a settled tradition that short stories which had already appeared in magazines or newspapers would not sell in book form. Today more than 1,100,000 O. Henry volumes have found purchasers, and each year marks an advance over the preceding year.

A new angle from which to appraise the distinction of O. Henry's work during these eight years is furnished by a questionnaire recently sent out to a select list of ten, composed of those who write stories, those who buy stories, and those who sell stories. Each of the ten was asked to name the ten stories of O. Henry that made the strongest personal appeal to him. The returns, published in the *New York Bookman* of June, 1914, show that sixty-two different stories were named. One risks nothing in saying that no other writer of short stories, living or

dead, would have had so long an approved list put to his credit. It may be mentioned also that since 1908 hardly a book has appeared on the American short story as a distinct literary type that does not make prominent the work of O. Henry. Some of these books are popular and superficial in treatment while others are studied and technical; but whether written for the high school pupil or the general reader or the college student, it is exceptional to find one that does not use some of O. Henry's stories as models.

V.

O. Henry's real achievement, however, is not to be measured in terms of his preparation or of his present vogue. It must be sought, of course, in the nature of his work itself. Most of those who have commented upon his work have singled out his technique, especially his unexpected endings, as his distinctive contribution to the American short story. "I cannot drop this topic," says Professor Walter B. Pitkin, author of "The Art and the Business of Story Writing," "without urging the student to study carefully the maturer stories of O. Henry, who surpasses all writers, past and present, in his mastery of the direct dénouement."

The unexpected ending, however, is not, even technically, the main point in the structural excellence of a short story. Skill here marks only the convergence and culmination of structural excellencies that have stamped the story from the beginning. The crack of the whip at the end is a mechanical feat as compared with the skillful manipulation that made it possible. Walter Pater speaks somewhere—and O. Henry's best stories are perfect illustrations—of "that architectural conception of the work which perceives the end in the beginning and never loses sight of it, and in every part is conscious of all the rest, till the last sentence does but, with undiminished vigor, unfold and justify the first." In fact it is not the surprise at the end that reveals the technical mastery of O. Henry or of Poe and De Maupassant. It is rather the instantly succeeding second surprise that there should have been a first surprise; it is the clash of the unexpected but inevitable.

It is not technique, however, that has given O. Henry his wide and widening vogue. It is rather that he has enlarged the area of the American short story by enriching and diversifying its social content. In his hands the short story has become the organ of a social consciousness more varied and multiform than it had ever expressed before. Old Sir John Davies once said of the soul that it was

> Much like a subtle spider which doth sit
> In middle of her web, which spreadeth wide;
> If aught do touch the utmost thread of it,
> She feels it instantly on every side.

So was O. Henry. Whether in North Carolina or Texas or New York an instant responsiveness to the humor or the pathos or the mere human interest of men and women playing their part in the drama of life, was always his distinguishing characteristic. It was not merely that he observed closely. Beneath the power to observe and the skill to reproduce lay a passionate interest in social phenomena which with him no other interest ever equaled or ever threatened to replace.

Man in solitude made little appeal to O. Henry, though he had seen much of solitude himself. But man in society, his "humors" in the old sense, his whims and vagaries, his tragedies and comedies and tragicomedies, his conflicts with individual and institutional forces, his complex motives, the good underlying the evil, the ideal lurking potent but unsuspected within,—whatever entered as an essential factor into the social life of men and women wrought a sort of spell upon O. Henry and found increasing expression in his art. It was not startling plots that he sought: it was human nature themes, themes beckoning to him from the life about him but not yet wrought into short story form. Thus the short story received at his hands a new sensitiveness, a new plasticity. It began to mirror aspects and areas of society unadmitted before.

In "An Unfinished Story" it enters the lists of social service in behalf of the under-paid and under-appreciated. Some one has said that Dickens' "Christmas Carol" has done more good than any story ever written. As the years go by will not the "Christmas Carol" be overtaken by "An Unfinished Story?" It was not hunger, it was not the need of the so-called necessities that wrecked Dulcie's life. The cause lay deeper than that; it belonged not to the eternal-human but to the eternal-womanly. It was neither food nor clothing; it was the natural love of adornment. Dulcie received $6 a week. The necessities amounted to $4.76. "I hold my pen poised in vain," says O. Henry, "when I would add to Dulcie's life some of those joys that belong to woman by virtue of all the unwritten, sacred, natural, inactive ordinances of the equity of heaven." In "A Municipal Report" O. Henry makes the short story enter the lists as an antagonist of the theory that New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco are the only "story cities" in the United States. "Dear cousins all (from Adam and Eve descended)," says the author in his philosophical overture to the story, "it is a rash one who will lay his finger on the map and say, 'In this town there can be no romance.'"

In "The Gift of the Magi" the philosophical paragraph comes last. It explains how the story came to be so named and throws a new light on an incident as old as Christianity. The gift of gold, frankincense,

and myrrh made by the magi to the infant Christ was a gift utterly without utility. What could the infant Jesus do with these things? But the pure love that prompted the gift shines all the brighter because the gift itself, humanly speaking, was an egregious misfit. Every parent or teacher who has received Christmas gifts from little children recognizes that O. Henry has here enriched a Bible incident not by formal comment but by a very modern Christmas story.

In "The Lickpenny Lover" we have a brilliant variation on a theme familiar to every one who has ever thought at all on "language as social custom." There are thousands of working girls in New York whose world is bounded by Coney Island. From some such commonplace of daily speech O. Henry took his cue. Masie, a shop girl, is courted by Irving Carter, painter, millionaire, traveler, poet, automobilist. He had fallen in love at first sight. "Marry me, Masie," he whispered, "and we will go away from this ugly city to beautiful ones. I know where I should take you," and he launched into a moving description of palaces, towers, gondolas, India and her ancient cities, Hindoos, Japanese gardens,—but Masie had risen to her feet. The next morning she scornfully remarked to her chum Lu: "What do you think that fellow wanted me to do? He wanted me to marry him and go down to Coney Island for a wedding tour." So the Hostess in "Henry V" thought that the dying Falstaff only "babbled of green fields" but he was repeating or trying to repeat the Twenty-third Psalm. Words meant to Masie and to the poor Hostess only what their experience would let them mean; and words mean to you and me only what our experience will let them mean. The pathos as well as the humor of speech as a social instrument is that the appeal of every word is measured not by its formal definition but by the hearer's orbit of experience and association. Are we not all Masies more or less when we read Dante or Shakespeare or Goethe? Do not opportunities call in vain because our little personal orbits will not let us see them as opportunities or hear them as challenges? For my part I can never read the Gospel of John with its talk of "life," "light," "truth," being "born again," "meat to eat ye know not of," with the pathetic misunderstandings that run plaintively and questioningly through it all, without thinking of this strangely suggestive story. The tragedy of the circumscribed life is not that it mistakes the imitation world for the real world but that the imitation world is its all.

Or take the powerful presentation of the law of habit made in "The Pendulum," ending with "Thought I'd drop up to McCloskey's and play a game or two of pool with the fellows,"—words apparently as empty of significance as any that could be spoken but charged here

with a subtle and cumulative fatefulness; or that luminous exposition of self-culture through the vocation which O. Henry calls "The Trimmed Lamp." Read again and note the universality but not commonplaceness of "Transients in Arcadia," in which "the tables are turned on Haroun al Raschid"; or, greatest of all, "The Furnished Room," in which transiency is differently motived,—a story which recalls Poe and Hawthorne at their highest, and the last part of which is as creepily powerful as the second witch scene in "Macbeth."

O. Henry, then, as I see it, has given the American short story a new reach and a widened social content. It is too soon to attempt to assign him a comparative rank among his predecessors. We may attempt, however, to place him if not to weigh him. It was Washington Irving who first gave the American short story a standing at home and abroad. There is a calm upon Irving's pages, an easy quiet grace in his sentences, an absence of restlessness and hurry, that give him an unquestioned primacy among our masters of an elder day. He was more meditative and less intellectual than Scott but, like Scott, he was essentially retrospective. He used the short story to rescue and relaunch the small craft of legend and tradition which had already upon their sails the rime of eld. He legendized the short story.

Poe's genius was first and last constructive. It was the build of the short story rather than its historical or intellectual content that gripped his interest. Poe's art, unlike that of Irving, is identified with no particular time or place. He was always stronger on moods than on tenses, and his geography curtsied more to sound than to Mercator or Maury. But in the mathematics of the short story, in the art of making it converge definitely and triumphantly to a preordained end, in the mastery of all that is connoted by the word technique, Poe's is the greatest name. The short story came from his hands a new art form, not charged with a new content but effectively equipped for a new service. In form, at least, Poe standardized the short story.

Hawthorne made the short story a vehicle of symbolism. Time and place were only starting points with him. He saw double, and the short story was made to see double, too. Puritan New England, New England of the past, was his *locale;* but his theme was spiritual truth, a theme that has always had an affinity for symbols and symbolism. Hawthorne allegorized the short story.

With Bret Harte the short story entered a new era. He was the first of our short story writers to preëmpt a definite and narrowly circumscribed time and place and to lift both into literature. Dialect became for the first time an effective ally of the American short story, and local color was raised to an art. Though Bret Harte's appeal is not and has

never been confined to any one section of the country, it is none the less true that he first successfully localized the American short story.

A glance through O. Henry's pages shows that his familiarity with the different sections of the United States was greater than that of any predecessor named. He had lived in every part of the country that may be called distinctive except New England, but he has not preëmpted any locality. His stories take place in Central America, in the South, in the West, and in the North. He always protested against having his stories interpreted as mere studies in localism. There was not one of his New York stories, he said, in which the place was essential to the underlying truth or to the human interest back of it. Nor was his technique distinctive. It is essentially the technique of Poe which became later the technique of De Maupassant but was modified by O. Henry to meet new needs and to subserve diverse purposes. The keynote of O. Henry's work, his distinctive contribution to the American short story, is found in the words with which he prefaced "The Four Million": "Not very long ago some one invented the assertion that there were only 'Four Hundred' people in New York City who were really worth noticing. But a wiser man has arisen—the census taker—and his larger estimate of human interest has been preferred in marking out the field of these little stories of the 'Four Million.'" O. Henry has socialized the short story.

Presentation of the O. Henry Memorial to the State

By President Archibald Henderson.

I stand here tonight, before the shrine of our literary and historic genius, to offer to the State of North Carolina the perfect tribute of art in token of the love and admiration of a people. As instrument in assuring this memorial, acting under the auspices of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, I take pleasure also in presenting this Memorial Volume—a history of the efforts to secure this memorial and of the success that has finally crowned those efforts. I feel it an ample reward for all the difficulties and the toil involved that we are enabled to see placed upon the wall of this great building a memorial tablet and medallion executed by so great an artist as Lorado Taft. It is both a pleasure and an honor to present tonight this memorial—of "O. Henry," literary genius, of William Sidney Porter, man—in behalf of the people of North Carolina and of admirers from all parts of the United States, who have united with us to make this dream a reality.

This ancient commonwealth, which has given to the nation and the world such great figures in the Presidency as Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and James K. Polk; in military genius as Pettigrew and Hoke; in statesmanship as Samuel Johnston, Nathaniel Macon, Thomas Hart Benton, William A. Graham, George Davis, and Zebulon Baird Vance; in law as Iredell and Ruffin; in oratory as Hooper and Gaston—this ancient commonwealth here dedicates to posterity the name of a great literary genius, the greatest American short-story writer of our day, "O. Henry." We glory in the thought that North Carolina, this home of democracy, this cradle of American liberty, should have produced, as the greatest man of letters in her history, a true democrat with an abiding love of human liberty—a national American to the heart's core, instinct with the spirit of fair play and inspired with love for his fellow-man; a true son of the South, buoyant in nature, richly imbued with the larger human sentiment, and joyous with the spirit of the new romance. "In every human heart," he once said, in words permanently eloquent of his faith, "there is an innate tendency towards respectable life, and even those who have fallen to the lowest step of the social ladder would, if they could, get back to the higher life. The innate propensity of human nature is to choose the good instead of the bad."

I offer this tribute to that lovable figure enshrined in the hearts of

millions under the name of "O. Henry," who lived to the full his halcyon day, from the morn of laughter to the night of tears, and out of the richness and variety of this wholly human life bequeathed to the world a literary legacy so compact of original genius, of marvelous technic, of rich humor, of shrewd philosophy, and of loving tenderness, that for its high art and sheer humanity it shall endure—as long as American literature itself shall endure. Upon this tablet, here given to the State by an admiring people, stand inscribed his own words from one of the short-stories which made him great—words which for all time epitomize his life and immortalize his fame:

He no longer saw a rabble, but his brothers seeking the ideal.

Acceptance of the O. Henry Memorial

By Governor Locke Craig.

We have listened with interest to the appreciation of O. Henry by two of the most cultured men of the South. They have given you an estimate of his literary work. The State welcomes this memorial to her gifted son. He was a brother full of sympathy, pathos and sunshine. He enlivened our ordinary experiences with the touch of his genius. Each of his productions is radiant, molded in simplicity and beauty, pulsing with the blood of life. He left us a precious legacy, for in the gloomy hours of care and toil he brings a message pure and joyous, full of laughter and tears. What Carlyle said of Robert Burns can be said of O. Henry too:

> While the Shakespeares and Miltons roll on like mighty rivers through the country of thought, bearing fleets of traffickers and assiduous pearl-fishers on their waves; this little Valclusa Fountain will also arrest our eye; for this also is of nature's own and most cunning workmanship, bursts from the depths of the earth, with a full gushing current, into the light of day; and often will the traveler turn aside to drink of its clear waters, and muse among its rocks and pines.

Members, 1914-1915

Adams, Miss Helen.....Newton
Alexander, Dr. Chas. L.....Charlotte
Alexander, Miss Julia.....Charlotte
Alexander, Miss Violet.....Charlotte
Albright, W. H.....Liberty
Allen, Ivey .....Louisburg
Allen, Judge W. R.....Goldsboro
Anderson, Dr. Albert.....Raleigh
Andrews, Col. A. B.....Raleigh
Andrews, Mrs. A. B.....Raleigh
Andrews, A. B., Jr.....Raleigh
Andrews, Phil. H.....Raleigh
Andrews, Wm. J.....Raleigh
Andrews, Mrs. Wm. J.....Raleigh
Ansley, Mrs. D. M.....Statesville
Archbell, Mrs. Lily.....Kinston
Ashe, Capt. S. A.....Raleigh
Aycock, Mrs. C. B.....Raleigh
Aydlett, E. F.....Elizabeth City

Bachman, R. H.....Edenton
Bahnson, Dr. Henry T.....Winston-Salem
Bahnson, Mrs. Henry T.....Winston-Salem
Bailey, Edw. P.....Wilmington
Bailey, J. W.....Raleigh
Bailey, Miss Mattie A.....Raleigh
Baker, Mrs. A. L.....Raleigh
Ball, Jesse G.....Raleigh
Barber, Rev. Milton A.....Raleigh
Barwick, Allen J.....Raleigh
Battle, George Gordon.....New York City
Battle, Judge Jacob.....Rocky Mount
Battle, Dr. Kemp P., Jr.....Raleigh
Battle, Dr. S. Westray.....Asheville
Battle, Thomas H.....Rocky Mount
Battle, William S.....Tarboro
Bean, Eugene H.....Salisbury
Belk, W. H.....Charlotte
Biggers, Miss Caroline.....Monroe
Biggs, J. Crawford.....Raleigh
Bingham, Col. R.....Asheville
Birdsong, Miss Mary S.....Raleigh
Bishop, Mrs. W. R.....Raleigh
Blacknall, O. W.....Kittrell
Blades, J. B.....New Bern
Blair, I. C.....Raleigh
Blair, Wm. A.....Winston-Salem
Bland, Charles A.....Charlotte
Booker, Warren H.....Raleigh

Bourne, Louis M.....Asheville
Boushall, J. D.....Raleigh
Boushall, Mrs. J. D.....Raleigh
Boyd, Dr. W. K.....Durham
Bragaw, Stephen .....Washington
Braswell, J. C.....Rocky Mount
Brenizer, A. G.....Charlotte
Brevard, Miss Carolina M.....Tallahassee, Fla.
Bridgers, Col. J. L.....Tarboro
Briggs, Miss Elizabeth.....Raleigh
Briggs, Mrs. T. H.....Raleigh
Briggs, T. H.....Raleigh
Briggs, W. G.....Raleigh
Brimley, H. H.....Raleigh
Brimley, Mrs. H. H.....Raleigh
Brogden, L. C.....Raleigh
Brown, Dr. Frank C.....Durham
Brown, George H.....Raleigh
Brown, H. A.....Columbia, Tenn.
Brown, J. A.....Chadbourn
Brown, Jos. G.....Raleigh
Brown, Rev. Wyatt.....Asheville
Bruton, Col. John F.....Wilson
Bullock, J. Dempsey.....Wilson
Busbee, Mrs. Charles.....Raleigh
Busbee, R. S.....Raleigh

Caldwell, John L.....Charlotte
Calvert, T. H.....Raleigh
Cameron, Col Bennehan.....Stagville
Cameron, Mrs. Bennehan.....Stagville
Cameron, Miss Rebecca.....Hillsboro
Carr, J. O.....Wilmington
Carr, Gen. Julian S.....Durham
Carroll, Dr. Delia Dixon.....Raleigh
Chambers, J. L.....Charlotte
Cheshire, Rt. Rev. Jos. B.....Raleigh
Cheshire, Mrs. Jos. B.....Raleigh
Cheshire, Jos. B., Jr.....Raleigh
Clark, J. E.....Washington
Clark, Hon. Walter.....Raleigh
Claxton, P. P.....Washington, D. C.
Cobb, Collier .....Chapel Hill
Cobb, Mrs. R. L.....Wilmington
Coble, Mrs. A. L.....Statesville
Cole, Mrs. E. M.....Charlotte
Coley, Mrs. Will X.....Raleigh
Collins, Mrs. G. P.....Hillsboro
Collins, Josiah .....Seattle, Wash.
Colton, Miss Elizabeth.....Raleigh
Cone, Ceasar .....Greensboro
Conner, Andrew J.....Rich Square

Connor, Judge H. G. ..... Wilson
Connor, R. D. W. ..... Raleigh
Coon, Charles L. ..... Wilson
Costner, J. M. ..... Raleigh
Costner, Mrs. J. M. ..... Raleigh
Cotten, Bruce ..... Baltimore, Md.
Cotten, Mrs. R. R. ..... Bruce
Chambliss, Miss Laviece ..... Wilson
Coughenour, W. C. ..... Salisbury
Council, Kinchen B. ..... Wananish
Covington, Mrs. L. E. ..... Raleigh
Cowper, B. G. ..... Raleigh
Cowper, G. V. ..... Kinston
Cox, Albert ..... Raleigh
Cox, J. Elwood ..... High Point
Cox, J. S. ..... Durham
Cox, Gen. Wm. R. ..... Penelo
Craig, W. J. ..... Wilmington
Cram, W. C. ..... Raleigh
Cram, W. C., Jr. ..... Raleigh
Craven, H. E. ..... Franklinton
Creech, Miss Flora ..... Raleigh
Crow, E. B. ..... Raleigh
Cruikshank, E. ..... Raleigh
Cumming, W. M. ..... Wilmington
Currie, J. H. ..... Fayetteville
Curtis, Miss Kate ..... Lincolnton

Daniels, Hon. Josephus ..... Raleigh
Daniel, W. E. ..... Weldon
Davis, Junius ..... Wilmington
Davis, Miss May Hill ..... Raleigh
Davis, Miss Sallie Joyner ..... Greenville
Davis, Thos. W. ..... Wilmington
Denson, Miss Daisy ..... Raleigh
Douglas, Hon. R. M. ..... Greensboro
Drane, Rev. R. B. ..... Edenton
Duncan, Mrs. E. C. ..... Raleigh
Durham, Baxter ..... Raleigh

Elias, Mrs. David ..... Raleigh
Ellis, J. B. ..... Kittrell
Earnshaw, Mrs. Jesse ..... Raleigh
Erwin, Mrs. J. E. ..... Morganton
Erwin, Mrs. Sadie Smedes ..... West Durham
Everett, R. O. ..... Durham

Faison, H. E. ..... Clinton
Faison, Mrs. I. W. ..... Charlotte
Farmer, Rev. J. S. ..... Raleigh
Farrar, P. G. ..... Durham
Ferguson, Hon. G. S. ..... Waynesville
Few, Dr. W. P. ..... Durham

Foard, H. G. ..... Wilmington
Fore, Mrs. J. A. ..... Charlotte
Fountain, J. L. ..... Raleigh
Fountain, Mrs. J. L. ..... Raleigh
Foust, Dr. J. I. ..... Greensboro
Fowle, Mrs. Samuel ..... Washington
Fries, Miss Adelaide ..... Winston-Salem
Fries, Col. H. E. ..... Winston-Salem
Fuller, T. B. ..... Durham
Fulton, Dr. Maurice G. ..... Davidson

Gaither, E. L. ..... Mocksville
Giles, Clayton ..... Wilmington
Glasson, William H. ..... Durham
Goodman, Geo. C. ..... Mooresville
Gore, Mrs. J. W. ..... Chapel Hill
Graham, Hon. A. W. ..... Oxford
Graham, Archibald ..... Charlotte
Graham, E. K. ..... Chapel Hill
Graham, Hon. W. A. ..... Raleigh
Graves, Miss Isabel ..... Mt. Airy
Grayson, Miss Alda ..... Rutherfordton
Greene, P. E. ..... Durham
Greenlaw, Edwin ..... Chapel Hill
Greenleaf, H. T., Sr. ..... Elizabeth City
Greensboro Public Library ..... Greensboro
Griffin, I. C. ..... Marion
Grimes, Col. J. Bryan ..... Raleigh
Grimes, Miss Sophie ..... Raleigh
Grimes, W. B. ..... Raleigh

Hackett, Mrs. Gordon ..... North Wilkesboro
Hale, E. J. ..... Fayetteville
Hall, B. F. ..... Wilmington
Hall, Miss Susan E. ..... Wilmington
Hamer, P. M. ..... Durham
Hamilton, Dr. J. G. de R. ..... Chapel Hill
Hardy, Ira M. ..... Kinston
Harris, Mrs. J. C. L. ..... Raleigh
Harrison, Dr. T. P. ..... West Raleigh
Harrison, Mrs. T. P. ..... West Raleigh
Haywood, A. W. ..... Haw River
Haywood, Ernest ..... Raleigh
Haywood, F. P. ..... Raleigh
Haywood, M. DeL. ..... Raleigh
Heartt, Leo D. ..... Raleigh
Heartt, Mrs. Leo D. ..... Raleigh
Henderson, Dr. Archibald ..... Chapel Hill
Henderson, John S. ..... Salisbury
Henderson, Mrs. John S. ..... Salisbury
Herring, Miss Kate M. ..... Raleigh
Hewitt, F. R. ..... Asheville

Hicks, Henry T.....Raleigh
Higgs, Miss Lelia.....Greenville.
Higgs, Miss Marguerite.....Greenville
Hill, Dr. D. H.....West Raleigh
Hill, John Sprunt.....Durham
Hines, Mrs. W. T.....Kinston
Hill, Wm. Laurie.....Barium Springs
Hinsdale, Mrs. J. W.....Raleigh
Hinshaw, G. W.....Winston-Salem
Hinton, Miss Mary Hilliard.....Raleigh
Hodges, J. Allison.....Richmond, Va.
Holt, L. Banks.....Graham
Hopkins, Lindsay .....Atlanta, Ga.
Horne, Mrs. Hardee.....Clayton
Horne, Dr. H. H.....New York City
Horton, Mrs. C. P.....Gallatin, Tenn.
Howell, Prof. E. V.....Chapel Hill
Hunt, J. M. B.....Townsville
Hunter, A. B.....Raleigh
Hunter, Carey .....Raleigh
Hunter, Mrs. Carey.....Raleigh
Hunter, J. Rufus.....Raleigh

Jackson, Mrs. H. W.....Richmond, Va.
Jackson, W. C.....Greensboro
Jenkins, John Wilbur.....Baltimore, Md.
Jenkins, Miss Mamie E.....Greenville
Jerman, B. S.....Raleigh
Johnson, Col. Chas. E.....Raleigh
Jones, Miss Lizzie P.....Raleigh
Jones, Miss Lovie.....Raleigh
Jones, W. N.....Raleigh
Josey, N. B.....Scotland Neck
Joyner, Hon. J. Y.....Raleigh
Judd, Z. V.....Raleigh
Justice, E. J.....Greensboro

Kenan, Mrs. Thos. S.....Raleigh
Kidder, George W.....Wilmington
King, Robt. R.....Greensboro
Knight, E. W.....Durham

Lamb, Col. Wilson G.....Williamston
Lamm, Miss Dixie Vance.....Lucama
Lanneau, Miss Louise.....Raleigh
Laprade, W. T.....Durham
Lassiter, T. J.....Smithfield
Latimer, William .....Wilmington
Lay, George W.....Raleigh
Lay, Mrs. George W.....Raleigh
Leatherman, Miss Minnie.....Raleigh
Lee, Mrs. Paul.....Raleigh

Lewis, R. H.....Raleigh
Lewis, Mrs. R. H.....Raleigh
Lindley, J. Van.....Greensboro
Lineberry, Miss Martha.....Colerain
Litchford, Henry E.....Richmond, Va.
London, Maj. H. A.....Pittsboro
London, Mrs. H. A.....Pittsboro
Long, B. F.....Statesville

McAllister, Chas. C.....Fayetteville
McConnell, J. M.....Davidson
McCubbins, J. S.....Salisbury
McCubbins, Mrs. Mamie G.....Salisbury
McCutcheon, R. P.....Wake Forest
McDowell, F. B.....Charlotte
McDowell, Mrs. F. B.....Charlotte
McGeachy, Mrs. R. S.....Raleigh
McIntyre, Miss Mildred.....Lumberton
McKenzie, Miss Isabel.....Chadbourn
McKoy, W. B.....Wilmington
McLean, A. W.....Lumberton
McRae, Donald.....Wilmington
Majette, Mark.....Columbia
Marshall, W. F.....Raleigh
Marshbanks, Miss Flossie.....Mars Hill
Martin, Julius C.....Asheville
Mason, Capt. T. W.....Garysburg
Mebane, Mrs. B. Frank.....Spray
Meserve, Rev. Chas. F.....Raleigh
Metcalf, Z. P.....Raleigh
Miller, Mrs. J. W.....New York City
Minor, S. W.....Durham
Moffitt, Mrs. E. E.....Richmond, Va.
Montgomery, Judge W. A.....Raleigh
Moore, Rev. H. C.....Raleigh
Moore, Mrs. James P.....Salisbury
Moore, Miss Ruth H.....Raleigh
Moore, Rev. W. W.....Richmond, Va.
Mordecai, Mrs. Ellen.....Raleigh
Morehead, Hon. John M.....Spray
Morehead, Mrs. John M.....Spray
Murchison, Miss Lucile.....Wilmington

Nash, Frank.....Salisbury
Newbold, N. C.....Hillsboro
Normal and Collegiate Institute.....Raleigh
Norris, Mrs. M. T.....Asheville
Norwood, G. A.....Raleigh

Oakley, Miss Annie.....Goldsboro
Oettinger, Jonas.....Asheville
O'Kelley, Rev. T. W.....Wilson

Osborn, W. H. ..... Raleigh
Overman, Hon. Lee S. ..... Washington, D. C.

Page, Hon. Walter H. ..... Garden City, N. Y.
Paschal, Miss Rosa ..... Raleigh
Pearson, James Larkin ..... Moravian Falls
Peele, W. J. ..... Raleigh
Penn, Mrs. R. L. ..... Mt. Airy
Pescud, E. F. ..... Raleigh
Petty, H. C. ..... Ampere, N. J.
Pharr, H. N. ..... Charlotte
Pinnix, Mrs. H. C. ..... Oxford
Pittenger, Rev. I. McK. ..... Raleigh
Pittman, T. M. ..... Henderson
Plyler, Rev. M. T. ..... Raleigh
Poe, Clarence ..... Raleigh
Poe, Mrs. Clarence ..... Raleigh
Pogue, J. E. ..... Raleigh
Polk, Tasker ..... Warrenton
Pool, Miss Eliza ..... Raleigh
Poteat, Hubert M. ..... Wake Forest
Poteat, Miss Ida ..... Raleigh
Poteat, W. L. ..... Wake Forest
Poteat, Mrs. W. L. ..... Wake Forest
Powe, E. K. ..... Durham
Pratt, Joseph Hyde ..... Chapel Hill
Price, Mrs. Richard ..... Wilmington
Pruden, W. D. ..... Edenton

Ramsay, James H. ..... Raleigh
Ramsey, George J. ..... Raleigh
Raney, Mrs. R. B. ..... Raleigh
Ray, John E. ..... Raleigh
Reaves, W. T. ..... Raleigh
Redwine, R. B. ..... Monroe
Reese, Miss Mattie ..... Raleigh
Reynolds, Mrs. R. J. ..... Winston-Salem
Reynolds, Mrs. W. N. ..... Winston-Salem
Rich, J. Hampton ..... Winston-Salem
Ricks, R. H. ..... Rocky Mount
Rodman, Miss Lida T. ..... Washington
Rondthaler, Rt. Rev. Edward ..... Winston-Salem
Rondthaler, Rev. Howard ..... Winston-Salem
Root, Charles ..... Raleigh
Rosenthal, G. ..... Raleigh
Rountree, George ..... Wilmington
Royster, Miss Edith ..... Raleigh
Royster, Miss Esther F. ..... Henderson
Royster, Dr. H. A. ..... Raleigh
Ruffin, William H. ..... Louisburg
Ryburn, Robert L. ..... Shelby

Scales, A. M.....Greensboro
Schenck, Miss Mary A.....Raleigh
Shaw, Miss Cornelia.....Davidson
Shepherd, S. Brown.....Raleigh
Sherrill, Capt. M. O.....Raleigh
Sherwood, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
Shipp, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
Simpson, John A.....Raleigh
Skinner, Col. Harry.....Greenville
Sledd, Dr. B. F.....Wake Forest
Small, Hon. Jno. H.....Washington
Smith, Dr. C. Alphonso.....University, Va.
Smith, Dr. Chas. Lee.....Raleigh
Smith, Ed. Chambers.....Raleigh
Smith, Mrs. Ed. Chambers.....Raleigh
Smith, L. L.....Gatesville
Smith, Miss Mary Shannon.....Raleigh
Smith, Maj. W. A.....Ansonville
Sousley, Miss Gertrude.....Greensboro
Southgate, J. H.....Durham
Speight, R. H.....Whitakers
Spence, H. E.....Durham
Spencer, Mrs. W. O.....Winston-Salem
Sprunt, James .....Wilmington
Stanback, J. F.....Raleigh
Stanback, Mrs. J. F.....Raleigh
Stephens, George .....Charlotte
Stephenson, Miss Florence.....Asheville
Stern, David .....Greensboro
Stevens, C. L.....Southport
Stevens, Mrs. C. L.....Southport
Stevens, Mrs. F. L.....Urbana, Ill.
Stone, W. E.....Raleigh
Summey, George Jr.....Raleigh
Swindell, Mrs. E. E.....Raleigh
Teague, Mrs. R. J.....Roxboro
Terrell, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
Thompson, Miss Irene L.....Mt. Airy
Thompson, D. Matt.....Statesville
Thornton, M. E.....Hickory
Thrash, Mrs. Jacksie D.....Tarboro
Timberlake, Julian .....Raleigh
Toepleman, F. C.....Henderson
Tuesday Afternoon Reading Club.....Reidsville
Turner, Mrs. M. G.....Raleigh
Turner, Mrs. V. E.....Raleigh

Upchurch, Miss Margaret Lee.....Lawrenceville, Va.

Van Landingham, Mrs. John.....Charlotte
Vann, Miss Mary H.....Raleigh
Vann, Rev. R. T.....Raleigh
Van Noppen, C. L.....Greensboro

Vass, W. W.....Raleigh
Vass, Mrs. W. W.....Raleigh

Wachovia Historical Society.....Winston-Salem
Waitt, Miss Daisy B.....Greenville
Walker, Hon. Platt D.....Raleigh
Waller, Dr. Calvin B.....Asheville
Walser, Zeb V.....Lexington
Ward, D. L.....New Bern
Ward, Miss Jane.....Raleigh
Watts, George W.....Durham
Weill, Miss Gertrude.....Goldsboro
White, Miss Julia S.....Guilford College
Whitehead, Mrs. E. L.....Enfield
Willard, M. C.....Wilmington
Williams, R. R.....Asheville
Williams, S. E.....Lexington
Williamson, Wm. H.....Raleigh
Williamson, Mrs. Wm. H.....Raleigh
Wills, J. Norman.....Greensboro
Wilson, H. V.....Chapel Hill
Wilson, Dr. Louis R.....Chapel Hill
Winfree, Mrs. J. M.....Raleigh
Winston, Hon. Francis D.....Windsor
Winston, Hon. George T.....Asheville
Winston, Hon. R. W.....Raleigh
Wisler, J. H.....Moncure
Withers, W. A.....Raleigh
Wood, Frank .....Edenton
Wood, J. G.....Edenton
Wood, W. P.....Raleigh
Wright, Robt. H.....Greenville

Young, Miss Ella.....Charlotte
Young, Hon. J. R.....Raleigh
Young, Miss S. E.....Raleigh

Bulletin no. 19

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

ASA BIGGS

INCLUDING A JOURNAL OF A TRIP FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO NEW YORK IN 1832

Edited by

R. D. W. CONNOR

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS
1915

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. Peele, Raleigh. M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.

Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson. D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ASA BIGGS

DALKEITH, WARREN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA,[1] March 1865.

For my children.

I, Asa Biggs, was born on 4th day of February 1811, so that now I am in the fifty fifth year of my age; and although I have passed through many vicissitudes yet upon a general review of my history I have abundant cause of gratitude and thankfulness to Almighty God for His supporting and directing care and for the eminent success with which I have been able to surmount difficulties and to attain among my fellow men my present distinguished position. I have concluded, my dear children, if time and opportunity are afforded me, to note for your instruction and information some of the incidents of *my* life, with the hope that this legacy of affection may prove useful and entertaining to you, in the journey of life on which *you* have entered, and may stimulate you to a course of conduct in which, on the termination of your journey you may have as much cause to felicitate yourselves as your affectionate father. I shall not write with a view of critical composition, but to detail facts, with such lessons of experience as may suggest themselves as I pass along. In February 1862 we were driven from our dear home at Williamston, (where you were all born) by the approach of the Yankee invaders up Albemarle Sound, after the fall of Roanoke Island.[2] About six weeks we lived at a small Cottage about 2 miles south of Tarboro' and from thence we removed to a dwelling, 3 miles west of Rocky Mount, where we continued to reside until I purchased this place in September 1863, and here we were all located in December 1863. Since the organization of the Government of the Confederate States of America I have been Judge of the Confederate States for the District of North Carolina. I selected this place as secure from Yankee raids and invasion, and although we have been excluded from society and the social intercourse to which we had been accustomed, and find it difficult with my limited means to obtain sufficient "food and raiment," yet so far we have not suffered, and the Lord providing for our wants we continue to this day, and I have confidence that He will still provide.

---

[1]In the handwriting of Asa Biggs. The original is in the possession of Judge Biggs' daughter, Mrs. Anna Van Cleve, of Princeton, N. J.

[2]Roanoke Island was captured by an expedition under Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, February 7, 1862.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION

And now to recur to early scenes and to the dawn of life. My father, Joseph Biggs, was a small merchant in Williamston when I came into this world, and was a Baptist Minister. My mother Chloe Biggs was his third wife. She was the daughter of William Daniel who resided on Smithwicks Creek. My father, by his two first wives, had several children, nearly all of whom had left him ~~at~~ my earliest recollection, and the children by my mother, who reached maturity, were 1 Joseph D., 2. Asa, 3 William, 4 Kader, 5 Louisa F. So far as at present advised all are now living. Our brother William, last heard from in 1862 had been driven from his home about 6 miles from Vicksburg by the Yankee invaders there: The others are all now residing at Hilliardston, being also refugees from their former homes and hearth stones, by the cruelty of the public enemy. My father died in the year 1844 then in his 78th year. My mother survived him until the year 1845, when she too fell asleep in her 70th year, in prospect of a better world. And here let me bear testimony to these dear departed ones. Through much difficulty did they rear their family; being poor and illiterate they had to rely upon their own indomitable energy and their moral and religious characters for support. They gave to us all the elements of education to the utmost of their ability and moral precepts and examples which have survived them; and can enable me to say with truth, no better parents ever lived than your grand father and grand mother Biggs. By the exertions of my father and others an Academy was established in Williamston about 1820 and in that Academy I received all the educational advantages I ever enjoyed. I grew very rapid[ly] and at the age of 15 was of manly stature weighing 180 and about that age left school and substantially the home circle, to complete my education as a merchants clerk. In 1825 I resided a short time with a Mr. Martin, a merchant in Washington. In 1826 I resided at Hamilton and was Clerk for a Mr. Edwards, a merchant at that place. In June 1827 I engaged with Mr. Henry Williams of Williamston, to superintend his mercantile business at that place for one third of the nett profits and so continued for two years. My income by this arrangement I think was about $500 per year. About this time I concluded to read law and for the next two years until June 1831 I acted as Clerk for Mr. Williams at an annual salary of $350, he furnishing me board. I note this to show my beginning, and it certainly was small! and yet, it, no doubt, was exceedingly useful to learn me economy, diligence and perseverence. I had no legal instruction, and consequently labored under many disadvantages in pursuing my studies, but I applied myself diligently in reading, whenever I could, consistently with my duties as

Clerk. I determined to apply for license and in July 1831 visited Raleigh for that purpose. In addition to doubts as to my legal qualifications I needed six months age to make me 21, and altogether my anxiety as to success was great. The Judges however (Henderson and Hall[3] who examined me) greatly to my relief treated me very kindly: omitted to ask me any question as to my age and gave me license to practice law in the County Courts[4] and I returned home with a light and joyous heart. The County Court of Martin County was held in a few days after I reached home and during that week I realized in fees about fifty dollars which was a good beginning and gave me much encouragement.

AT THE BAR

The first Monday in August I attended the County Court of Pitt where I made my maiden speech in an address to the Grand Jury, among strangers. I then took the Counties of Martin, Pitt, Bertie, Edgecomb [e] and occasionally Washington and Green as a circuit but the three first I could only attend regularly in the County and Superior Courts during my professional course, which continued for about 25 years. When I came to the Bar, the Courts I attended had several old and able lawyers practising, and the prospect of my success appeared very problematical; but I commenced with a determination to succeed if possible, attended the courts regularly, applied myself unremittingly to my studies, and gave diligent attention to any business confided to my care. Occasionally and year after year the older members of the Bar retired, my practice increased, and altho' at no time did my annual receipts amount to more than $4000 generally for the last ten years to not more than $2000, (my circuit being very contracted) yet I consider myself remarkably successful, by economy and prudence, to have accumulated a comfortable living, by my profession, particularly when my expenses began to increase rapidly upon the increase of my family and I have succeeded in providing for the wants and education of a large family of children.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

On 26th June, 1832, I was married in Bertie County to your mother Martha Elizabeth Andrews, who is the daughter of Henry and Elizabeth Andrews, but who died when she was an infant and your mother was raised by her aunt Mary Higgs, the sister of your grandmother Andrews; and they were the daughters of your great grand mother Cotton

[3]Leonard Henderson, Chief Justice, and John Hall, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

[4]Prior to 1868 two licenses were required in North Carolina, one admitting to practice in the county courts, the other admitting to practice in the Superior and Supreme Courts, but the latter could not be obtained until the applicant had practiced at least one year under a county court license.

of Bertie County. We have now lived together for upwards of 32 years. She has had 10 children of whom 8 are now living: the other 2 died in infancy. Nothing remarkable occurred in my history from 1832 to 1840. My wife brought to me a small estate consisting of several slaves and some other property which materially assisted my small accumulations. It was constant, unremitted labor and an effort to provide for a growing family. In 1830 I purchased a lot in Williamston on which I built an office and enclosed it with a good substantial fence. After my marriage until January 1833 we boarded with Mr. Williams and the years 1833 and 1834 we resided at a rented house in town and during that time I built a dwelling and outhouses on my lot—to which I have since greatly added as my family increased; and there we continued to reside until we were driven from home in 1862.

IN THE LEGISLATURE

In 1832 I attended a District Convention as a delegate from Martin County to nominate an elector on the Jackson-Van Buren ticket. Party Spirit ran quite high at this period and the Democratic Republican party in this State were divided—a portion preferring Barbour to Van Buren for Vice President. I had made up my mind to attach myself to the Democratic party believing that the principles of the party promised more good to the country: although in this I differed from my father and the rest of the family who were in the opposition. Soon after my entrance into active life and until 1840 I was repeatedly urged to engage in politics, but persistently declined, knowing that I could not with justice to my family and future prospects enter into political controversy, without neglecting my private affairs which required my undivided attention. In 1840, however, an election was pending of the most excited character—the contest between Harrison and Van Buren for the Presidency: and both parties were greatly excited, and the result considered of the highest importance. For the first time in the history of the County of Martin, a convention of the people was called to nominate candidates for the General Assembly. At this meeting, which was large and general, Capt. Jesse Cooper,[5] who had represented that county for 20 years presided and by it he was nominated as a Candidate for the Senate and me [sic] as a Candidate for the House of Commons, and I was informed that my nomination was unanimous. I did not participate in the proceedings of the meeting, being advised that my name would be urged. From such a nomination I concluded there was no escape, and accepted. I canvassed the county thoroughly and although an opposition ticket was run, I was elected by an over-

[5]He was a member of the House of Commons in 1822, and 1825-'30, inclusive; and of the Senate in 1831, 1834-'42, inclusive.

whelming majority. The discharge of the duties of this responsible position gave me great anxiety—the Legislature was decidedly Whig and the State had voted for Harrison by a large majority.[6] I endeavoured, however, faithfully to maintain my principles, though in a small minority. In 1842 I was again nominated and elected to the same position, though I had Democratic opposition. It had been the invariable custom, up to this time, for candidates to "treat" with spirituous liquors while canvassing and at the election. I adopted the custom in 1840 to a moderate extent, but my observation satisfied me this practice was highly pernicious, and ought to be abandoned and therefore I refused to "treat" in 1842. This originated numerous false reports, as to my purposes—such as a desire to compel by law all the fruit trees to be destroyed and to prohibit the introduction of foreign liquors. This gave me an opportunity to discuss the question fully, and I boldly defended my position and denounced the custom, as injurious to the public morals and interest. Since then I have never treated, as was the former practice, allthough I have been a candidate for popular suffrage repeatedly and after the lapse of years I still commend my course on that occasion as proper and entitled to imitation by others. In 1844 I was nominated for the Senate, and was opposed by the old Senator Cooper, who then denounced nominating conventions, and a prominent Whig was also a candidate. This placed me in a very embarrassing situation and there was a reasonable prospect by the division of the Democrat party the Whig would be elected. I conducted the canvass without appealing to passion, firmly but temperately arguing principles and I was triumphantly sustained by the people—obtaining a handsome majority over both of my opponents. Cooper receiving but 25 votes. By this I was transferred to a new theatre and the Session of the General Assembly was stormy and excited, the parties being *equally* divided in the Senate, and the responsibility of taking a prominent position in the debates and proceedings being thrown upon me! but here as elsewhere I endeavoured to discharge my duty with fidelity to the party I espoused, and the great principles of administration in which I believed the good of the country was involved. This public service gave me considerable prominence in the State and the approbation of my fellow citizens was sufficient to gratify any reasonable ambition and although it interfered to some extent with my domestic affairs and somewhat with my professional duties I very cheerfully made the sacrifice, as a duty I owed to my family and my country. There followed however a period to "try" me thoroughly.

[6] 13,141.

REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS

The County of Martin had been attached to the ninth Congressional District in 1842, having little or no intercourse with the other Counties in the District except Bertie. The District was decidedly Whig and gave in 1844 in the Presidential election between Clay and Polk, nearly a majority of 1000 for the Whig ticket. Late in the Spring of 1845, the Democratic party held a District Convention in the lower part of the District, in which the county of Martin was not represented and much to my surprise and embarrassment nominated me as a Candidate for Congress. The almost certain prospect was defeat; the Whig candidate Col. David Outlaw[7] was a gentleman of talent and worth. In a large number of the Counties I was personally unacquainted, while he was well known —for many years had been the solicitor for that judicial District. If I did not accept I ran the risk of incurring the censure of friends whose good opinion I highly valued and if the improbable result should be success, it would effectually throw me out of the practice of the law and deprive me of the personal supervision of my growing family. I took time for one week, to deliberate, at the end of which I accepted the nomination and entered actively into the canvass. I concluded it was *my duty*. The principles of the two parties were debated with ardor but with proper temper and personal respect. And here I will note my entire disapprobation of the vicious practice of public men becoming personal enemies and indulging in personal reproaches while discussing political principles. It prostitutes the public morals, unnecessarily engenders strife, exerts a baneful influence and develops the worst passions of the human heart. It gives me pleasure to say that Col. Outlaw and myself canvassed the District on two occasions at a very excitable period in 1847 during the progress of the Mexican War, without an unkind personal remark; and although we did not spare each other's political positions or arguments yet we maintained our social intercourse unimpaired and my personal respect for him increased rather than diminished. And I had as well mention now that in 1848 I canvassed an electoral District in the Presidential election of that year with Edward Stanly,[8] estimated one of the most violent partisans in the State, and who I regret to say has since become a degenerate son.[9] He was

[7]David Outlaw was a native of Bertie County. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1824, studied law, and practiced at Windsor. In 1831 he was elected a member of the House of Commons and served through 1834. He was elected as a Whig to the Thirtieth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-second Congresses, serving from March 4, 1847, to March 3, 1853. He again served in the House of Commons 1854, 1856, and 1858; and in the State Senate in 1860 and 1866.

[8]Represented Beaufort County in the House of Commons in 1844, 1846, and 1848; Speaker in 1844 and 1846; member of Congress, 1837-'43, 1849-'53.

[9]In 1853 Stanly removed to California, where he became prominent in politics. In 1862 President Lincoln, in an effort to organize a "loyal" state government in North Carolina, appointed Stanly "governor." Stanly followed the Union army to New Bern, where he issued his proclamation and set up his government. Soon perceiving the hopelessness of his task he resigned and returned to California. His conduct was bitterly denounced by his former friends and acquaintances in North Carolina.

elector on the Taylor and I on the Cass ticket; and but one unpleasant passage occurred between us which was at the conclusion of the Canvass; and his unkind personal remark was retracted as soon as the heat of the moment passed and we closed the discussion personal friends. My conclusion, therefore, is, that if a public man, while firmly sustaining his personal dignity, does not unnecessarily provoke personal criminations, the vicious example of public men debasing themselves and the public mind by personal feuds will be avoided. The great issues at that day were a modification of the Tariff of 1842; a United States Bank instead of the Independent Treasury, and a distribution of the proceeds of the public lands. The question was also debated as to the propriety of terminating the joint occupation of Oregon by Great Britain and the United States. I was in favor of a modification of the Tariff so as to make the burdens of taxation more equal, being opposed to the protection afforded to northern manufactures; I was opposed to a United States Bank and in favor of the sub-treasury. I also opposed a distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, and was in favor of giving notice to Great Britain to terminate the joint occupation of Oregon. Col. Outlaw took opposite positions to those I assumed. The result was, I was sustained by a majority of 146 votes, showing a very close race, out of 10,000 votes. I attributed my success mainly to the position I took on the Tariff question. During the canvass some of my friends, knowing the former party majority against me and governed by their ideas of policy, advised that in certain counties I should not argue against or for certain measures, in which I disagreed with a majority of the people. But my judgment and principles taught me differently and therefore on all occasions and in every county I boldly advocated the cause I represented and I therefore went to Congress a representative man, no voter being able to reproach me with concealing my opinions or deceiving him as to my position.

Upon taking my seat in the House of Representatives at Washington in December 1845, I felt oppressed with the weight of my responsibility, and being so deficient in education, and a general course of reading and political information I greatly feared I should disappoint the expectations of my friends and should fail to do credit to myself and the State. Every thing was new and I must learn everyday. I had the disposition of application and therefore was assiduous in the acquisition of knowledge to fit me for the duties of the Station. For one month I gave myself but little sleep and no exercise and this with the change of habits and diet came near prostrating me. After feeling the effects upon my constitution, which before I thought could stand any amount of such labor, I was compelled to change my

course, but the effect of this unremitted application I did not recover from for two years. We had a very protracted session and one incident gave me great pain and severed a friendship in a very unpleasant manner. Mr. W. H. Haywood was one of the Senators from the State, elected partly by my vote when I was a member of the Legislature. The tariff question was one in which my constituents felt a deep interest. The House of Representatives had passed a bill to modify the Tariff for which I had voted. Parties so stood in the Senate that the vote was doubtful, and as the time for voting approached it was reported that Mr. Haywood would vote against the bill. I proposed to the Democratic members of the House to call upon him and remonstrate. They declined, none of them having assisted in his election but myself. I sought an interview in which we had a very animated and excited conversation at the door of the Senate Chamber; the last we ever had. Shortly afterwards on the same day he resigned as Senator which placed the fate of the bill more doubtful.[10] Fully impressed with a sense of my public duty and feeling sensibly the unpleasantness of my situation I, on the next day, in the House, publicly denounced his conduct. It is proper to state that Mr. Haywood was universally condemned by his party in this State for his course, and never recovered any political standing thereafter. During this Session the War with Mexico was recognized and efficient measures adopted for its prosecution. For all these measures I voted. I had become greatly chagrined at the corrupted course of public affairs and my North Carolina ideas of frugality and economy in public expenditures were greatly shocked. Long absence from home had deranged all my private arrangements and my family were suffering for my personal superintendence. At the commencement of the short Session in December 1846 I wrote to the leading men in the District declining to run again as a Candidate and requesting that steps might be taken to run some other person at the next election. In response to these letters there was universal dissent, and I fully ascertained that the public dissatisfaction and censure would be general and I should incur the disapprobation of many of my warmest and most valued personal and political friends. I concluded therefore to sacrifice my personal wishes and desires to a sense of duty. In 1847 Col. Outlaw was again my competitor and all the old political issues were evaded or abandoned and nothing was discussed in this canvass but the Mexican War and its incidents. In connexion with this some of my votes were misrepresented by my political opponents in some of the Counties, by which I was made to appear as opposed to an increase of the soldiers pay and the result was that the former party vote was nearly rallied

[10]For an account of this incident, together with Haywood's defense of his course, see Connor, R. D. W., *North Carolina Review*, July 2, 1911.

in opposition to me and my opponent was elected by upwards of 700 majority. I can truthfully say that except for the mortification and disappointment to my friends, after the excitement of the moment passed, the defeat was neither unexpected nor viewed with regret.

I could now honorably retire from public life, and could devote myself to the prosecution of my profession and attention to my family. I found, however, as all will who have tried it, that it required time to recover practice lost by irregular attendance on the Courts. But I set to work with diligence in reading to refresh my mind for the practice and regularly attended the Courts, by which I partially, if not fully, succeeded in regaining my business.

DELEGATE TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1835

I will now before I proceed further supply an omission at the proper place. I have stated that I persistently declined engaging in politics until 1840. But in 1835 I was elected and served as a member from the County of Martin in the State Convention called to amend the Constitution of the State. I was then only 24 years old and I considered myself highly honored by this position of distinction. This body was composed of the most experienced and talented men in the State, "grave and reverend seignors"; and my association with such a dignified and able convention was an admirable and useful school for me, being nearly the youngest member of the body. I did not participate in the Debates, but was an attentive and careful learner, and always feel gratified that my native county thought me worthy to represent them in such an important assembly.[11]

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES

And now I approach a period in my history of a deeply interesting character. Surrounded as I had ever been by religious influences and associations my mind had often been drawn to a consideration of my latter end, but no decided impression had ever been made. I had generally been guided by moral principles, and had never indulged to excess, or to any great extent, in the vices and wickedness, common to many of my acquaintances and associates. Endeavoring to guide myself by the strictest rules of honor, and sobriety, absorbed in the pursuit of wealth and fame, and the gratification of what I esteemed a laudable ambition; I concluded that it was time enough, in my declining years, to turn my attention to religious matters—very suitable for those in advanced life, but for me, they would seriously interfere with my success at present. Above all, I entertained a decided opinion that no person could pursue the profession of Law, and be a Christian; and to abandon my profes-

[11]His associate from Martin was Jesse Cooper.

sion, would disappoint all my hopes of wealth and fame. I quieted my uneasiness of conscience which occasionally disturbed me, by the consideration that I stood much better than many others, and I had a better opinion of myself than many who professed religion. I always paid due respect to religious characters, and religious ordinances and worship; frequently attended preaching of all denominations—more generally upon Methodist service as their Meeting House was on adjoining lot—and often the Ministers and members of that society visited my house, partook of my hospitality, and with some of them, I was on terms of intimacy and friendship. I often passed through periods of religious excitement, and while occasionally serious impressions would force themselves upon me, I condemned the noise and tumult of such scenes. When I was engaged in religious conversation, it was in reference to the differences in doctrine and practice between the Baptists and Methodists, and, if I was with a Methodist, I argued for the Baptists and, if with a Baptist, I argued for the Methodists. But my most mature reflection, could not explain satisfactorily how God could be just, and save a portion of the human family, and condemn the residue. Thus I speculated and acted, and thus I should have speculated and thus I should have acted, until this day—aye, even to the last day of my earthly existence; if, God in his mercy, had not opened my eyes, and changed the whole current of my thoughts and speculations.

"In the early part of April 1851, there was a religious excitement in the Methodist Church in this town.[12] For some time before this, I had discovered that my wife was deeply concerned on the subject of religion and during this excitement, she attended the meetings, and appeared to be more powerfully operated on. I was laboring under a violent cold and hoarseness, but I went with her on Thursday night, and after the sermon, when an invitation was given to go up to the altar, I came to the conclusion that she was prevented from going, by a fear that it would not be agreeable to me; and, to relieve her, I went across the house, and told her if she felt an inclination to go, to do so; and, at my solicitation, she went up, and I went with her. After the services, we came home, and I did not feel any particular impression on my mind—it appeared to be entirely sympathetic for her and we went to bed, and I took some paregoric for my cold. This was 10th April 1851. About 2 o'clock of that night, I awoke in great agony of mind—at first thought I was laboring under fever, but soon became satisfied that my mind was powerfully awakened as to my awful condition as a sinner, so that in a few minutes, the visitation was so great, as to compel me to cry aloud for mercy and arouse the whole house. I thought my mental

[12]Williamston.

powers were giving away. This continued for two hours. Some Methodist friends, who were staying with us, sent off after Mr. Carson and Mr. Martin the preachers—they came and prayed—but no relief could I find. After about two hours I became more composed, but the melancholy and depression of spirits continued, more or less, and all the time very great, until the next Tuesday evening 15th. On Friday and Saturday mornings, I went to the prayer meetings. On Saturday, I went to Skewarkey, and heard Bro. Hassell[13] preach from 33 Psalm 18 and 19th verses. Monday was Court day. I went to the Court House and staid a short time. On Tuesday I did not go. On Tuesday evening, while meditating, the 8th verse of 3d Chapter of John came to my mind with such power I repeated it aloud: and I became thereafter more composed, and for several days my soul was drawn out to praise the Lord for his goodness and love; and frequently I was in a flood of tears praising and blessing the Lord. On the Saturday before the 5th Sunday in June, being Union meeting at Skewarkey—the 28th, I was received a Member of Skewarkey Church; and on the 29th baptized in Roanoke River at Williamston by Elder C. B. Hassell in the presence of a large crowd of spectators. At some other time I propose to write my exercises more at length."

Commencing with, and including the quotation points above, is the Copy of a memorandum I made in January 1853, which I now transcribe as fully disclosing my feelings at that time; but it signally fails to give an adequate description of my conviction, and as I humbly trust, my conversion by the Holy Ghost, from darkness to light, and from the power of sin and Satan to the service of the true and living God. If I make the attempt to "write my exercises more at length," I shall fall infinitely short to give you a faint representation of my conflicts, trials, hopes and rejoicing; but, I venture to say, that the awful gloom, that hung over me at the time I awoke out of sleep, may be compared to an impenetrable overhanging cloud, ready to burst upon me in all its fury, and to sink me to everlasting despair and ruin; while I was anxiously looking for some ray of light, through the gloom, by which I might hope to escape the impending danger; but no glimmer could I discover. I felt indeed, that I was a poor, miserable and lost sinner; condemned to punishment for my iniquities; and my cry was, Lord! save or I perish! All my moral rectitude did not avail me. I could see nothing to extricate me from this awful dilemma. My intense suffering, forced me to cry out in despair, and I readily concluded that I was going deranged, and frequently enquired, Am I losing my mind? During this deep

[13]Cushing Biggs Hassell, a noted Primitive Baptist Elder. For an interesting biographical sketch by Francis D. Winston, see Ashe, S. A. (ed.): *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V. 124.

distress, all my sins and improprieties seemed to be brought before me, and I am reminded that I felt sincerely desirous, to make friends with all those with whom I was not then on friendly terms, and felt willing to accommodate every difficulty I had ever had with my fellow men. I was willing to obtain relief in any way, and from any body, and readily attended the meetings with the hope of being relieved: yet my inclination was to seclude myself from observation and read, and pray, and meditate in secret; and thus I was engaged the most of the time for several days. Nothing that was said or done appeared to soothe or console, I was unalterably miserable, and could find no solace or hope. And here, I had as well transcribe in full, the text of Bro. Hassell to which allusion has been made, *33d Psalm 18 and 19 verses.* "Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their soul from death and to keep them alive in famine." It is a blessed promise to a sin-sick soul, but from it, or his sermon could I derive no consolation. I had no sudden deliverance from this deep distress. The first composure and serenity of mind I enjoyed, and that slight, was on Tuesday evening when, as I have heretofore said, the 8th verse of 3d Chapter of St. John was forcibly brought to my mind. It reads thus, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof; but cans't not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit." Commencing here, my mind grew more calm and composed, and my soul, for several days, was melted in thanksgiving and praise to God for his loving Kindness and for being delivered from the deep gloom through which I had passed. My wife and myself, had often conversed about family prayers. It seemed impressed upon me for years as proper, but I never could determine to discharge this duty; but during the week, one night, I called the family together and in a trembling manner, bowed at the family altar, and, I hope, most sincerely implored mercy and supplicated blessings, from our Heavenly Father. In the discharge of this duty, I experienced more, *sudden,* sensible, consolation, than I have ever enjoyed; and therefore I continue the same to this day, believing it a duty acceptable to God. My mind was soon drawn to the consideration of Christian association; and a desire was excited to partake of the Lord's Supper. I had conversation on experience with some Baptists and Methodists; among the latter were some friends I highly esteemed, and whose exercises, induced me to believe they were truly converted by the Spirit of God. But when I compared their professed faith with the Bible, I concluded they must be in error. And yet I reasoned—how is it that Christians so essentially differ as to doctrine and ordinances? Does God permit his children to see so different[ly] when they

are led by the same Spirit? This gave me much trouble; but it finally occurred to me that it may be permitted for some wise and good purpose; as inscrutable to finite creatures as the dispensation of His providence in temporal matters, where we see the righteous and pious bowed down by poverty and disaster, when the wicked and vicious are permitted to prosper. The important question for my decision and action, is, what path the lights afforded *me* teach *me* to walk; and, I soon came to the conclusion, that it was my duty to attach myself to the Primitive Baptist Church at Skewarkey; altho' by so doing I should incur the contumely and disapprobation of all the world besides. From April to the last of June when I was baptized, I passed through many scenes, I attended the Supreme Court and argued my cases there; I visited Chapel Hill at the commencement exercises of the University of North Carolina; and was thrown into a variety of company and associations; and in reviewing my course and feelings, it was made evident to my mind, that the finger of a merciful God had directed my pathway down into the liquid grave in which I was buried in the Roanoke River; and, on that day, if I could have had my choice, I would preferred to have had the whole world present to witness my profession. And yet, on that day, never did I feel a more humbling sense of my weakness and ignorance about divine and heavenly things. For many months, did I enjoy refreshing seasons in attending the churches and upon the administration of the word and ordinances; but for many years back I have failed to receive those sensible, and feeling, tokens of love I then enjoyed; yet, I thank God, I continue to this day, more confirmed in my faith, and no cause to regret that I am one of that despised hardshell sect every where spoken against. The foundations of God standeth sure; and I believe we have built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the Chief corner stone; and the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail against it. If in this I am not deceived, why should I be afraid or ashamed of man whose breath is in his nostrils? or why should I shudder or attempt to avoid, the reproaches of a gainsaying world. Perhaps I have written enough of my religious exercises; possibly too much to interest you; as you cannot in a great degree appreciate it *now;* yet I hope, and pray, that in years to come, you may be abl [e] to add yours to my testimony, and rejoice in the same truth: And, while I would not desire in the slightest degree to fetter your consciences in regard to religious faith, nor would I wish to influence you except for good, I would however, firmly, but affectionately impress upon your youthful minds, never to permit yourselves to join the cry of contumely and scorn against the old Baptists, much too frequent in this sin-disordered and false professing world.

I could greatly enlarge in noting my spiritual conflicts and warfare, and give you some lessons from my experience in relation to spiritual wickedness in high places, but it would occupy too much time and space, to but little profit I fear, and therefore I pass on to the relation of other incidents of my history: remarking here that your mother was also received a member of the Skewarkey Church and baptized on the 2d Sunday in Nov. 1851.

CODE COMMISSIONER

In 1851 I was associated with Judge Saunders and B. F. Moore Esqr. in a commission appointed by Gov. Reid to revise the Statutes of North Carolina. This Commission was suited to my taste and inclination and I entered upon the duties with alacrity and diligence. Judge Saunders soon resigned, and the whole responsibility rested upon Mr. Moore and myself. We found it impracticable to report to the Session of 1852 and the General Assembly of that year by a law continued Mr. Moore and myself as Commissioners and authorised us to proceed without an associate. It was an arduous labor, and I was absent from home at Raleigh very frequently; engaged often night and day for months. It was to me an interesting and useful pursuit adding greatly to my professional knowledge. During this employment I was again solicited to engage in political life. I was nominated in 1852 as a candidate for the State Senate from Martin County but I declined the nomination so flattering[ly] tendered; assigning among other reasons the responsible duty in which I was then engaged, from which I would be diverted, by being a representative in the Legislature.

The General Assembly of 1852 rearranged the Senatorial Districts, and as the County of Martin theretofore entitled to a Senator, did not then pay into the public treasury sufficient taxes, my County was attached to the County of Washington to form a Senatorial District.[14] As parties were pretty equally divided in the State, and the Counties differed in politics, great interest was manifested to secure the representation of that Senatorial District; and in the Spring of 1854, I was nominated as the Democratic candidate for the District and strongly urged to accept. I was not unmindful of the unimpaired partiality of my fellow countrymen and the gratitude I owed them for my support and elevation in the past; and the duties of the Commission being nearly performed, I consented to accept the nomination; and entered actively into the canvass. I was strongly opposed, and the result was doubtful. I felt much anxiety about it, because I was then desirous

[14]Under the Constitution of 1776 each county had one senator; but the Convention of 1835 amended the Constitution, and the amendment was ratified by the people so as to limit the Senate to 50 members chosen from districts to be laid off by the General Assembly, on a basis of the taxes paid into the State Treasury.

to be on the floor of the House to superintend the passage of the Revised code through the Legislature. The professional reputation of my colleague and myself was involved, in obtaining the consent of the Legislature to pass the revisal as we had prepared it, knowing how liable it was to be marred and disjointed by amendments, I was sustained by a majority of 21 votes only in the District, so equally balanced were the parties of that day.

UNITED STATES SENATOR

The session of 1852 was the regular period for the election of one Senator of the United States and the Session of 1854 of the other. In consequence of the nearly equal division of parties in 1852 a contest arose between Mr. Dobbin, who was the regularly nominated candidate of the Democratic party, and Judge Saunders, who opposed him; and the session terminated without an election. The election of two Senators was therefore thrown upon the Legislature of 1854, and of course excited much feeling and interest. Many names of high prominence were canvassed in the newspapers, and among a large number my name was mentioned; but I can with sincerity say to you that while it was gratifying to my ambition, I certainly felt no confidence or expectation that I would stand prominent[ly] for the position. I did not reach Raleigh until the night before the session was to open; and then I ascertained, that an active canvassing had been going on for a week, by aspirants for these distinguished positions, and that my name was generally discussed. It was soon evidently the desire of the members to decide these elections as early as practicable, and to that end a caucus of the Democratic party was held on Tuesday night. I did not attend, although urged by some of my friends to do so; nor would I visit the members, as customary with others, concluding that it was a position not to be attained by personal solicitation. The session of the caucus was protracted but the result was that I was nominated for the six years term and Gov. Reid (then Governor) was nominated for the short term of four years. On Thursday the election was held by the General Assembly and Gov. Reid and myself were elected according to the nominations, which placed me as the successor of Mr. Badger.[15] Thus, unsolicited on my part, was I elevated to one of the most distinguished places in the gift of the State: and certainly enough to gratify the highest, laudable ambition. I received this distinction with great diffidence and a feeling sense of my deficiencies, but as a great honor to my County and family. With a firm resolution I determined to devote myself unremittingly to the best interests of my native State and if possible reflect credit upon my constituents and myself. Upon a review of all my surroundings I

[15]George Edmund Badger, Whig, had been Senator since 1846.

strongly impressed upon my young friends, that the great element of my success was a firm but temperate maintenance of principles, pursued with energy and a settled conviction of their truth. It was a remarkable success of one, unaided by family or fortune, with all the disadvantages of early life and a limited education, emphatically "the architect of his own fortune"—rising to a most exalted position suddenly and unexpectedly. I can sincerely assure you that no fawning sycophancy or corrupting influence was practiced by me. I became the untrammeled and honored representative of a proud sovereign State: and one, not of the least of my gratifications, was the credit I had thus been able to give my dear children, with the hope that neither of them would ever bring reproach upon or tarnish the fair name I had thus attained. And now in humble adoration to that kind Providence who has so signally exalted me above my fellows, I would implore Him to watch over, guide and direct my offspring to the same honorable, if not exalted end. As my Senatorial term did not commence practically until December 1855, though the nominal beginning was 4th March 1855, I continued a member of the Senate until the Legislature adjourned: and being at the head of the large joint committee of both Houses, on the Revised Code, composed of the ablest members,[16] I was laboriously engaged on that subject, but I did not neglect a faithful discharge of my other legislative duties. And here I am reminded of a temptation to which I was subjected during the session of a most trying and unpleasant character. There were many schemes of internal improvements. Some of the most extravagant and visionary kind; and altogether of the most alarming magnitude; but they were urged with earnestness by members from the different localities, many of whom had cordially voted for me and who sought my aid and assistance for their favorite schemes. A strong appeal was made to me: that as I was about retiring from the Legislature, I could run no risk of my constituents by supporting these measures, and thereby I could sustain my friends. Governed however by a high sense of public duty, and my integrity of character, as the representative of the wishes of my district I firmly opposed many of these darling projects of my friends, and thereby for several weeks I became odious to many, who in the early part of the Session, seemed greatly attached to me. I was gratified however before the Session terminated, as many of these projects failed for want of a *"faithful"* coöperation among those engaged in the "log rolling," and to which was attributed their defeat, above all when the enormous liabilities proposed, was calmly considered, jus-

[16]The other members of the Committee on the part of the Senate were William A. Graham of Orange, William Eaton, Jr., of Warren, Thomas S. Ashe of Anson, Charles F. Fisher of Rowan and John H. Haughton of Chatham; on the part of the House, Jesse G. Shepherd of Cumberland, A. J. Dargan of Anson, Patrick H. Winston, Jr., of Bertie, J. S. Amis of Granville, and W. T. Dortch of Wayne.

tice was done to my course; and I regained the good will of all, I think, before we separated. This is another instance, to which I direct your minds, where substantial good was accomplished, by resisting a specious, and trying temptation to error.

And, now I was necessarily compelled to change all my arrangments for the future. It was a thorough disruption of all my professional, domestic, business and family affairs, to enter upon the sea of political life; in which I will say that, although it was gratifying to my ambition, yet the turmoil and strife necessarily incident, did not suit my inclination. Add to this, I was to be separated from my christian friends and associations; and I felt greatly oppressed with my responsibility and the trials to which I must be subjected. And after I have had long experience of these responsibilities and trials, I will truly advise you that the station of a faithful public servant is not a "bed of roses," but it is certainly true that the highest stations are strewed with thorns and difficulties.

Gov. Reid resigned his office of Governor and went to the Senate in 1854. I took my seat there in December 1855—a stranger to the members—with a desire to be useful as I could not hope to be brilliant. I soon discovered that the same influences operated there as in other places. It was evident to my mind a lamentable decay of virtue was progressing in our public councils: that there was no amendment for the better since 1845—on the contrary things were growing worse.

With a nominal Democratic party majority of upward of 15 out of a Senate of 60 members, I found myself frequently voting in a minority of from 10 to 12 members—rarely could we reach the highest figure—particularly on important questions of public expenditure. The prevailing desire seemed to be, to procure large appropriations for any and every object: and there were constantly presented new propositions for lavish expenditures: on which sufficient votes were generally obtained from the Democratic party, with the opposition, to constitute a decided majority. It may not be interesting, to diversify this narrative, with one or two illustrations of the corrupting influence brought to bear upon Congress. I will select one of the smallest of these abuses.

For some time previous to 1845 there was considerable discussion in relation to Books furnished to the Members of Congress. It was represented as a growing abuse and I felt desirous to correct it. The custom was for some old member at the commencement of Congress to move a resolution directing the Clerk to purchase for and furnish to the new members the books formerly furnished to the old members and subsequently the appropriation was made in the general appropriation bill. At that time the value to each member was nearly one thousand dollars—

the cost to the government and the appropriation was generally about $75,000. Soon after I took my seat as a member of the House, the usual motion was made by Mr. [Robert C.] Winthrop of Massachusetts. Upon its introduction, a member from Maine, (a new member) violently opposed it in an hour's speech, in which he charged corruption and alleged that members were in the habit of selling their books for three or four hundred Dollars, and pocketing the money, instead of distributing the books for general information—the ostensible object of the appropriation. Thereupon Mr. Winthrop asked that his resolution might be laid upon the table, until an investigation could be had, and called upon the member from Maine to move a Committee to relieve the house from these serious charges and expose the guilty. I was much pleased with this movement, with a fond hope that this great outrage would be corrected. A committee was raised, of which the member from Maine, of course, was chairman. I sought his acquaintance and encouraged him to make a full exposure. I frequently called upon him to inquire how he was progressing with the investigation, and at first he stated, he had not convened the Committee, as he was collecting information to be laid before them when they assembled. Shortly, it was said, that nearly all the Books, necessary to supply the members, belonged to the Government, and were then lying in a room in the Capitol injuring, and but a small amount would be necessary to complete the set. The result was, the Committee never were convened and after some months delay the resolution of Mr. W[inthrop] was passed, and the appropriation was subsequently made. It was evident to me, that the member from Maine soon surrendered to the corrupting influence brought to bear upon him, or was made the dupe of those interested in that question. I afterwards learned, it was true, there was a large number of the Books required, lying in a room in the Capitol, but they were not owned by the Government, but belonged to the booksellers who had purchased them from old members.

This abuse continued and increased, until public sentiment, compelled Congress to pass a law, prohibiting any appropriation, upon a resolution in regard to Books as had been before customary, and such was the law when I went into the Senate. Notwithstanding this law, the practice continued until the value of the Books to each member, was about $1500, and the appropriation about $150,000. The House of Representatives passed the usual resolution and appropriation. The Senate, inconsistent with their usual course, rejected that item in the appropriation bill and that with other matters became a subject of conference between the two Houses. I was placed upon the Committee of Conference. A compromise was made with the consent of a majority of the

Senate Committee by which a part of the Books was appropriated for. I opposed the report of the Committee in the Senate and was gratified to find that my position was sustained by a majority and the report not concurred in—something very unusual upon reports of Committees of Conference. The bill was sent to another Committee, and they could not agree, and on the very last day of the Session another Committee was raised upon which I was again placed. The Conference was not harmonious. I would not yield a principle, in defiance of a solemn act of Congress: but the bill was an important one, involving millions for necessary objects and a majority of the Committee again made a compromise striking down the appropriation and providing for a distribution of the Books in the Congressional Districts. I still opposed it, but it was passed in the expiring hour of the Session. Now from this you can form some faint conception—faint though it will be—of the extravagance, waste and corruption, that controlled our public council, yearly and daily destroying the vitals of healthy, honest legislation.

I give you another incident. According to the long habit of the Senate, the Senate Committees at the commencement of each Session, were arranged in caucus by the majority party, taking a majority on each Committee and leaving to the opposition to fill up the minority in their caucus: and as new members of the majority came in, they were placed at the foot of the Committees and gradually went up by seniority until they reached the head. The consequence was that Gov. Reid and myself, being new members, were placed in apparently, no prominent positions. I protested in caucus against this injustice [to] Gov. Reid, but I was assured by old members, it was the only rule that could be adopted to avoid difficulty, after long years of experience and I of course yielded. I was placed on two or three committees, but the only one of importance was the Committee on Territories (of which Judge [Stephen A.] Douglas was chairman), then not very important but subsequently obtained great importance, in consequence of the exciting questions that arose as to the establishment of territorial governments, and which shook the Union from its base.

During the first session my position was clearly defined by my votes, invariably against wasteful extravagance—generally voting as I said in a minority of 10 or 12. When the Committees were being arranged for the next session, a member of the Committee of Finance, (one of the most important and distinguished of the Senate and of which Mr. [R. M. T.] Hunter of Va. was chairman) insisted that he should be taken from that Committee and that I should fill his place: assigning as a reason that as the Committee was then constituted, a majority

were for large appropriations—that he was compelled frequently to go for these appropriations against his better judgment, that it was necessary that Mr. Hunter should be sustained in his economical efforts, and that I was the member to place on that Committee. The change was made. I felt it a high compliment: but you will from this gather, how much prostituted were members of Congress, extending to the august body of the Senate, who, themselves had not the manly virtue and independence to resist error, but who required a check from their fellow members to avoid the inevitable ruin to which we were driving.

The tendency of everything in the government, according to my opinion, was toward ruin. The picture presented to my mind every day was sad. The whole soul of a large number, was absorbed in schemes and arrangements to secure themselves in power: and one election was just over when plans for another, to secure success, were projected. My party were in a majority, and of course responsible, as a party, to the people for a proper administration of public affairs: and there I found myself bearing the responsibility without the slightest means to correct mal-administration; and no prospect for the better, in the future: because this state of things was increasing and becoming firmly fixed so far as I could see or hope. I would not have you believe there were no exceptions, among our public men, to this general deterioration. It gratifies me to say, I found many, but they were, like me, powerless for good. I would not be guilty of the affectation and vanity of stating to *you* that *I* was not often misled by these evil influences, and therefore did not indulge in error: but my general course, I am sure, was dictated by an elevated desire to act for the good of the Country and to resist every corrupting influence. The experience of my Senatorial course, ending in 1858, forced the conviction upon my mind that the government of the United States was becoming thoroughly corrupt, and that in a few years it would fall to pieces by its own corruption and I so expressed myself to my friends.

When I went to the Senate Mr. Pierce was President. His general measures of administration met my cordial support. During my term he retired and I witnessed the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan; and his administration generally met my approbation while I remained in the Senate; but his subsequent course in relation to secession I emphatically condemn.

It is as well to note here that I visited home at Christmas 1855 and carried with me on my return to Washington City all the family—where we resided until the adjournment of Congress in the Summer of 1856. During the next Session, being the short Session, the family, with the exception of Lucy, remained at home. She accompanied me

to Washington. In January 1858, the family again removed to Washington and remained until the Spring of that year. Part of the time we resided at the Capital we boarded, but a portion of the time kept house in furnished lodgings which I rented by the month.

The gayety, extravagance and society of the Metropolis, was unsuited to me; and soon after first reaching there I sought Christian association and conversation, more congenial to my feelings, when relieved from the cares and perplexities of my public station. I attended divine worship of different societies; but at length I met with a few Old School Baptists and attended the preaching of the word by Elder Wm. J. Purington, in a delapidated house in an obscure part of the City; and here I enjoyed more real pleasure than in the magnificent temples which decorated the city.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

In the winter of 1857-58 Judge Potter, the District Judge of the United States for North Carolina, died: having held the office for upward of 50 years. It was a station desirable to me, as honorable; and consistent with my former habits of life, I preferred being relieved from the irksome position I occupied, though, it certainly was one of the most distinguished in the Country. I expressed these feelings to some of my friends, and after the disposal of some important business then pending in the Senate, in May 1858, I was nominated, by President Buchanan, as Judge, and confirmed unanimously by the Senate; and thereupon I resigned my seat as a Senator from North Carolina when about half of the term for which I was elected was unexpired. In this case, as heretofore, I made no personal solicitation for the office, and took no steps to secure it; but it being offered, with profound gratitude to my State for my elevation to the Senate and for the constancy and fidelity with which I was encouraged by a large number of admiring Constituents, yet with a decided conviction that I could be more useful in this sphere, or at least could pass down the current of life more gently, giving place to some more talented and faithful statesman in the distinguished arena of the Senate, I left public life with pleasure; and, although I parted reluctantly with many valued friends, I retired to the judicial bench, without regret.

In consequence of my mental anxiety and the turmoil and irregularity of the life I was compelled to live, it seriously impaired my physical powers. I reduced very much in flesh, and on my return, my friends at home looked at me with astonishment; but resuming the comparative quiet of my former life, and again adopting my regular habits I soon recuperated and was prepared for labor.

The duties of my office required a course of reading essentially differing from any former course, and I sat to work diligently to qualify myself for the responsible duties of United States Judge. The District Courts were held twice a year at Edenton, Newbern and Wilmington and the Circuit Court once a year at Raleigh. At the latter Court the Presiding Judge was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States when attending and Judge Wayne was assigned to my circuit. For many years in consequence of the age and imbecility of Judge Potter, the Courts had become formal farces. I reorganized them, adopted necessary rules to render them efficient, and prepared to make the District Courts useful. I held also the Circuit Court unaided until Nov. 1860 when for the first and last time Judge Wayne presided.

Having had some correspondence with him I ascertained before we met, that he positively denied the right of a State to secede from the Union and as Lincoln had been elected President, and the excitement in the South was great it was not improbable that this might become a practical question and require the decision of the Judiciary. I supposed if it were to arise at that term it could only be made in his address and charge to the Grand Jury; and as I entertained a decidedly different opinion on the subject, I prepared in writing the conclusion of my judgment, to be used if occasion called for it. He however, charged the jury without alluding to the subject, but I will here transcribe what I intended to say, for preservation, and to show my position at that time.

The following was prepared to be delivered in case Judge Wayne was not present or in case, if he were present I should charge the jury:

"Treason against the United States, consists in levying war against them, on in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. The Constitution provides, that no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open Court. An act of Congress passed in 1790 provides, that if any person owing allegiance to the United States of America, shall levy war against them, or shall adhere to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort, within the United States or elsewhere and shall be convicted on confession in open Court, or on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act of treason, whereof he shall stand indicted, he shall suffer death. And it is a high misdemeanor by the same act, for any person having knowledge of treason, to concede the matter, or not to disclose it to the public authorities. These are offenses against the United States and cognizable in the Courts of the United States only. But it is also true that Treason may be committed against the State government, forming a State offense cognizable in a State Court and punishable by State authority. A period may arrive in the history of our Country, when it may be proper and necessary to consider and decide the appalling question, whether a citizen owing allegiance to the United States, by rendering obedience to the commands of the Sovereign authority in his own State,

after the State has solemnly decided to separate herself from the Union. [Sentence not completed.] It would however be premature in the Judiciary to prejudge that important question, yet undecided by the Courts; and it being yet a political question (about which however I entertain a decided impression) I deem it improper now judicially to express or intimate what my opinion is.

"It is fervently hoped by me that the alarming circumstances now surrounding us may be so overruled as to render unnecessary the decision of this question. But if unfortunately a decision shall be forced from the Courts, I trust they will exhibit the same firmness and wisdom that have marked the course of the judiciary in many trying periods of our history."

The following was prepared to deliver in case Judge Wayne should express an opinion differing from mine:

"With deep regret I am compelled to differ with my associate, the Presiding Judge of this Court. On ordinary questions I should feel disposed to defer to the greater experience and wisdom of my associate as it is very desirable when practicable that there should be a concurrence of opinion among Judges, so as to give the decisions of the Courts greater weight. But now I am forced to express an opinion, upon a question of the gravest character without argument and without the judgment of a Superior tribunal; although I am free to say, it is a question that has occupied much of my consideration, and particularly within the last few months. It is an extraordinary occasion, and I feel the full force of my responsibility. I have heretofore said, in my opinion, it is premature in the Judiciary, considering the gravity of the question, to prejudge it, by expressing an opinion in advance of a judicial case arising in which the light of argument may greatly assist in forming a correct opinion. And I the more regret this conflict of opinion, because it occurs when my associate and myself meet for the first time to coöperate in the discharge of our official duties, and at a time of great political excitement in the Country upon the very question now brought up.

"I am well aware that the right of State Secession from this Union, has been for a long time a controverted question, upon which Statesmen and the brightest intellects of the Country have entertained opposite opinions; and therefore I might well hesitate as a judicial officer, in volunteering an opinion, until a case is made which rendered it necessary to pronounce my judgment. But no alternative is now left me and I will not shrink from the expression of my opinion, forced upon me as it is: because by remaining silent *now* I should tacitly adopt the opinion of my associate. Perhaps also I am in error in concluding it is improper to withhold the opinion of the Court from the Grand Jury charged with an enquiry into all violations of the criminal laws of the United States as the question involves a violation of criminal law.

"*I* hold therefore that the States, in forming the Federal government acted separately as equals and sovereigns, with no common Superior, and that the first duty and obligation of the citizen was due to his State; and upon the adoption of the Constitution of the United States by his State, this duty and obligation is no less due to the United States, but because it is at the command and clothed with the sovereign authority of his State. That the citizen while his State remains a member of the Federal Union must conform to the Constitution of the United States and the Constitutional laws of the Federal

government, although they conflict with the Constitution and laws of his State; and where there is a conflict of opinion as to what laws are constitutional, the proper tribunal to decide that question is the Supreme Judiciary of the United States. The question being thus decided, it is the duty of the citizen to acquiesce in, and maintain that decision.

"But whenever any State in her Sovereign capacity (and I mean by that, the people of a State duly and legally assembled in a convention by the proper authority, with the same formalities and regularity as conventions were held to ratify and adopt the Constitution of the United States originally) shall solemnly so decide she has the right for sufficient cause (of which she must be the judge, as upon her alone rests the heavy responsibility for such a fearful act) to voluntarily and peaceably secede from the Union, which she voluntarily entered: and thereupon, a citizen of such State is absolved from his allegiance to the United States, and will not be guilty of treason to the United States for obeying the commands and maintaining the laws of his own State.

"This is my decided judgment now, formed after much reflection upon the theory of our government, and the history of the day in which the Federal Government, was created; and in my humble judgment, in the language of one of North Carolina's most cherished sons, (the late Mr. [Nathaniel] Macon) 'this right is the best guard to public liberty and to public justice that could be desired'; and if, generally or universally admitted, is the best Security for the permanency and perpetuity of the Union.

"I cannot now, and therefore do not propose to allude to the arguments for and against this right; and it is with entire deference, I declare my opinion on this grave subject; but I repeat no alternative is now left me, and I therefore respectfully but firmly announce this conclusion as the firm conviction of my best judgment."

SECESSION

I will retrospect a little. The Democratic party in 1860 were divided greatly in their preferences of men for the Presidency, and there was a conflict of opinion as to the course to be adopted in creating territorial government; some in favor, and others opposed to what was called "Squatter Sovereignity." The opposition, then organized in a party, called themselves "Republicans" (a desecration of that old party name) claimed the right of Congress, to prohibit slavery in the Territories, and to legislate for them; and avowed their determination to do so if they obtained the power.

The Democratic Convention assembled at Charleston in the spring of 1860, to nominate a candidate. There was a failure to nominate. The Convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore early in the Summer. There was great excitement through the Country. Although removed from political life, I felt a deep interest in the alarming state of public affairs. All the old political organizations had dissolved, except the Democratic party, and I was convinced that upon the disruption of that party, as the country was then situated, there was a virtual dissolution of the Union. I felt an earnest desire to save the Union, if the rights of the

South and the States, could be preserved. I cannot better illustrate my position, than giving the substance of a conversation I had, when I was a Senator, with Mr. [Lawrence M.] Keitt of S. C. a member of the House. He expressed a confident opinion, that we could live no longer in harmony with the Yankees; and he was then in favor of a dissolution of the Union, and insisted upon a course of action on some pending question to which I dissented. I remarked, that I felt as determined to maintain our rights as he could possibly be; but the difference between me and him was we were governed by different motives of action—he thought dissolution desirable—I did not think so—he would shape his course to attain that result—and I would do all I could, consistent with our rights and honor, to avoid what I should consider a sad calamity.

After the adjournment at Charleston, and before the meeting in Baltimore, I visited Washington to inform myself personally of the prospect for the future; and while there, I had full and free conference with many distinguished public men. The aspect of affairs then has been verified too truly by subsequent events. I called upon Gen. Cass, then Secretary of State, and our conversation made a deep impression upon my mind. He remarked that things "were sadly out of joint. It seemed that the people were demented. My section," said he, "appeared to have run wild. Altho' I have been identified with my State for forty years, I do not suppose, upon my return home, I could be elected a constable: and recently a gentleman from your section expressed to me a hope that the union might be dissolved. My conclusion is, if this calamity is not avoided, these States in a short time, will be cut up into three or four independent republics, warring against each other. I am now numbering my days, and cannot hope to remain here much longer, if I shall be able to get through with the duties of my present office, and I trust I shall pass away before this said event happens." Neither of us could realize that the catastrophe was so near at hand; although the forebodings were then significant, Mr. Cass then agreeing with me that a disruption of the Democratic party seriously threatened such a result. A dissolution of the Union was the inevitable effect of a false religion, a fanatic philanthropy, a disregard of plighted political faith, and the non-observance of rights secured by the Constitution by which every State was guaranteed equality, notwithstanding their domestic institutions, and the consequent estrangement from the Union, of the affections of a section of the country, it being manifest that this Union had become their oppressor instead of their defender. The election of Mr. Lincoln as a sectional candidate, with his avowed principles of abolition and the supremacy of Congressional legislation, totally subversive of the

rights of the States, was the climax of endurance; and a separation followed, first of the Gulf States and upon the issuing of his infamous proclamation of April 1861, intended to coerce the States into submission, Virginia, North Carolina and other States ranged themselves with their Southern Sisters in resistance.

The Legislature of North Carolina, in February 1861, submitted the question of a State Convention to the votes of the people, providing that in case a majority should so decide, it was to assemble immediately, and delegates were elected at the same time a vote was taken on the convention question. At this election Martin County voted for a Convention and Elder C. B. Hassell was elected the delegate from that County. A majority in the State however (though small) voted against a Convention, and North Carolina therefore for the present decided to remain in the Union.[17] I was decided[ly] in favor of a Convention to deliberate as to the course the State ought to take. I retained my office, because I deemed it imprudent to resign it until the State seceded, or such controlling circumstances occurred as to induce me to conclude that it could be no longer held with honor and consistent with the duty I owed to my State. To show you however my feelings and opinions before the proclamation was issued, I transcribe here some propositions I reduced to writing at that period.

1. I unequivocally admit the right of a State to secede from the Union, and thereafter, I deny that the United States government has any power or authority within the jurisdictional limits of such State.

2. If the United States government attempts to coerce a seceding State, I think this a sufficient cause for North Carolina to immediately secede from the Union and unite her destiny and resources with the seceding States.

3. As the Union is now dissolved by the withdrawal of several states, I consider it important that the whole of the Southern States should act unitedly and harmoniously, as the only means to avert civil war.

4. At present I cannot see a probability of living in harmony, with any of the non slaveholding States; but if a Union can be reconstructed by which the guarantees contemplated by Mr. Crittenden's resolutions, can be obtained, then I am for a reconstruction upon those resolutions as a basis.

5. If that is found impracticable, then I am for secession of North Carolina and coöperation with such of the Southern States as may agree to form a Southern Confederacy, and I am utterly opposed to a Union of a Central Confederacy of the border slaveholding and non slaveholding States, and thereby cutting loose from the Gulf States.

[17]The vote of Martin County was: For Convention, 662; against Convention, 22. The vote of the State was: For Convention, 46,672; against Convention, 47,333.

6. I will not be pledeged to any particular course of action, except as indicated in the above propositions and conclusions, intending however to exercise my best judgment to maintain the institution of domestic slavery, and desiring to that end the coöperation of all the Southern States.

Stirring events succeeded each other rapidly. A failure by the Peace Congress to settle difficulties was followed by the Proclamation of April 1861; and thereupon I determined no longer to hold office in the government of the United States, and prepared, and immediately transmitted my resignation; a copy of which I here transcribe.

Williamston, N. C., April 23, 1861.

To Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States.

Sir:—I hereby resign my office of District Judge of the United States for the District of North Carolina, being unwilling longer to hold a commission in a Government which has degenerated into a military despotism. I subscribe myself *yet* a friend of constitutional liberty. Asa Biggs.

I thereby cut myself loose from all official connexion with the Government, and took my stand as a private citizen of the State, and advised and acted as the convictions of my judgment dictated. Another Convention was called, to convent on *20th May 1861,* and an election of delegates was ordered on 13th. My name was placed before the people of Martin as a delegate, and I was elected with but little show of opposition. And now, my hoped for quiet is disturbed. I am again forced into the Stormy arena, at an awful crisis of my country's history. I did not hesitate. I encouraged the formation of military companies—assisted in, and promoted their equipment and supplies, and urged upon all, to defend the legacy of our ancestors—the right of self government—to the last extremity. The County of Martin furnished immediately two volunteer companies, commanded by Capts. Lamb and Clements, and subscribed several thousand dollars to furnish equipment and supplies; and the company commanded by Capt. Lamb left the wharf at Williamston for the defense of the coast of North Carolina on 20th May 1861—the day that the State formally seceded from the Union.

I took my seat as a member of the State Convention at Raleigh on 20 May 1861, and so united and harmonious was public sentiment then, that before the close of that day, an ordinance of secession *unanimously* passed, separating the State from the Union and declaring our determination to assert the right of self government—a right inestimable to freemen and formidable to tyrants only. When I recur to the scenes of that day, my heart exults with pride at the proud position my native State then assumed: and I can but regret that any thing has since oc-

curred, to cast a reflection upon the patriotism of any portion of my fellow citizens: but candor and truthfulness require one to say that *many*, then voting for secession, have since greatly embarrassed our efforts to sustain the position then taken. In a few days, the State became a member of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America and elected delegates to represent the State in Congress; and for weal or woe, identified herself with the Southern Confederacy, by subsequently adopting the Constitution of the Confederate States.

I was laboriously engaged in the Convention as long as I remained a member, being placed on the most important Committees, by the appointment of Mr. Weldon N. Edward, the venerable President. Whatever may be the criticism on my course in that body, I will say that I never proposed or urged any measure, that I did not hope and believe would promote harmony in the maintenance of our cause—being deeply impressed with the conviction that our success depended upon our unity.

CONFEDERATE STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

On 17th June 1861, I was appointed by Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, during the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, Judge of the District Court for the District of North Carolina; and this appointment was confirmed by the advise and consent of the Congress, and a commission was sent to me dated 13th August 1861. Upon the formation of the Permanent Government of the Confederate States under the permanent Constitution, I was appointed by President Davis, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, Judge of the Court aforesaid; and my commission furnished me is dated on 15th April 1862, and I took the oath of office before Judge [R. R.] Heath of the Superior Court Bench of North Carolina on 27th May 1862.

The Convention had several recesses, one or two while I was a member. I continued a delegate until I thought it was time the Court was organized, and that my attention was required to the prize cases which were accumulating at Newbern. I resigned my seat in the winter of 1861-62 and Mr. D. W. Bagley was elected my successor. Again did I retire from public life, and since then I have been discharging the duties of Judge. As remarked in the outset, I was driven with my family from home, by the enemy in February 1862, and have been residing at this place since Dec. 1863; looking on with the deepest anxiety at the struggle which has been progressing for four years; with an abiding belief in our ultimate success, because I do firmly believe our cause is just. Frequently, however, I have been greatly depressed in spirits, with pain and grief realizing what I did not expect

to see prevail so extensively in the South—a spirit of covetousness, selfishness, extortion and avarice that induces me to suppose this cruel war is still to be prolonged, until a just and merciful God, shall humble our people more, and extirpate the distracting and fell spirit that so generally prevails. How any patriot, philanthropist, or Christian can permit himself to be absorbed in making a fortune out of the miseries of this war, is past my comprehension! How men of standing and wealth, can remain at home, accumulating their thousands and millions, at the expense, misery, and discomfort of the families of those brave and gallant soldiers, who are protecting our rights at such great sacrifices, is but another evidence of the ingratitude and depravity of poor, fallen, human nature! How any Southerner, not deprived of his manhood, and spirit of freedom, can be willing to submit to the insolent foe who demands our subjugation at his feet, with his heel in our faces, the confiscation of all our property, with the ignominious and debased condition of becoming the slaves of slaves—is to me distressingly painful and amazing!

SONS IN CONFEDERATE ARMY

In April 1861 my son William, then about 18 years old, and in his Junior year, was at school at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Before the secession of the State, he applied to me for permission to join a company who proposed to tender its services to Prest. Davis. I declined to give my consent, advising him to apply himself diligently to his studies, as he might soon be deprived of any further educational advantages, a matter of vast importance to him. The students however became so much excited, that college exercises were partially suspended, and he ventured to visit home. He reached there in the morning of the day, when we were engaged in forming the volunteer companies in the County. He remained in the house but a few minutes, and asked my permission to attach himself to one of the companies, which I promptly granted.

He was elected 3d Lieut. of Capt. Lamb's company of 12 months Volunteers, called the Roanoke Guards, and started with that company to Cape Hatteras on 20th May. It is remarkable, they carried no guns, no intrenching tools, and for weeks were stationed on the bald sea beach without any means of defence. In August 1861, the garrison at Fort Hatteras were captured by the enemy, carried as prisoners to New York, and from thence to Fort Warren in Boston harbor, and were kept for 8 months before they were exchanged. Upon a reorganization of the company, William was elected 1st Lieut. Subsequently promoted to the Captaincy of Company A, of 17th Regiment of North Carolina Troops, and attached to Martin's Brigade; in which capacity he has been serv-

ing ever since. The Brigade is now commanded by Genl. Kirkland attached to Genl. Hoke's Division. He has been through a great deal of hard service, in North Carolina and Virginia, and engaged in several battles; but through the mercy of God he has escaped with one slight wound; and has had but one serious spell of sickness, thus far. Certainly, we have cause to adore the superintending and preserving Providence of our kind and Heavenly Father![18]

In July 1864, my son Henry having reached the age of 17 years, by my consent, attached himself to Capt. Manly's Battery of Artillery of Cabell's Battalion, stationed between Petersburg and Richmond, where he has been serving ever since; and so far has enjoyed good health. He has not yet been engaged in a battle.

I cheerfully give up my boys to the service of my Country, though the sacrifice is great. I would consider myself and my family disgraced, if we desired to, and could relieve ourselves from a participation in this great conflict for our liberty. I fervently pray, that they may be spared; but I endeavor to make myself resigned to any event: with faith, that God will order all things for the best, and that out of this bloody carnage, some great good is to be accomplished.

This war for Independence has now been in progress for more than four years, with varying success. And such a gigantic war we do not read of in modern history! The sacrifice of human life, and some of the most worthy of the Country, is great and painful: and the end of this carnage is only known to Almighty God. It is a contest on our part for the right of self government—a right inestimable to us, and which we cannot surrender without dishonor. Our country is invaded by those who demand our subjugation and submission to their rule, the utter annihilation of our personal rights and our rights of property, the consequences of which would be our degradation and ruin.

I know that *I* am rapidly passing from the stage of action. In a few short years the place that now knows me will know me no more forever: but I feel great solicitude that you, my dear children, may be permitted to enjoy the blessing of freedom that I have so long possessed. If we are unsuccessful I shall die with a conviction, that you and my countrymen will become the most degraded people upon the face of the earth. If we are successful and our people, as I hope they will, learn, from our sad experience, the errors of the past, reform their vices and confess their sins and transgressions, God in his mercy may make us a prosperous and happy people.

It is amazing how successful we have been in resisting the enemy, with our limited resources, compared with our foes. It is evident to me

[18] A history of this regiment by Second Lieutenant Wilson G. Lamb, Co. F, is in Clark, Walter (ed.): *North Carolina Regiments*, 1861-'65, II, 2-13.

that the Almighty arm has been interposed in our behalf; and this gives me confidence that *He* will yet deliver us. But we are a sinful nation I am compelled to confess; and this war has developed a spirit of covetousness, extortion and a greed for gain in the Southern Country which I did not expect to see. It is poor, fallen, unregenerate human nature!

In my opinion the proximate cause of this war is a *false religion,* an anti-christian spirit which I think will be punished severely by a just and holy God. We have suffered immensely and the clouds now look lowering and the prospect is exceedingly gloomy, but God knows all things and what is best, and I endeavor to be calm and resigned to *His* holy will.

This much I now say in regard to the pending war. Much more I could write on this all absorbing subject, but you have had experience of the evils of the times as well as myself; and some of you can appreciate the horrors, anxieties and difficulties of the past four years, and I pray Heaven that you may never have such painful and melancholy experience for another four years of your lives. I have been driven from my own home twice by fear of being captured by the enemy, and am now under apprehensions that I shall be compelled to leave my family again. If I should not I may hereafter continue these memoirs; but if I do, it is probable, this will be the last I shall ever write in this form to you, and I therefore commend and commit you to God, praying him to preserve and guide you, with the admonition to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present evil world.

July 1, 1865.

It is with a sad and heavy heart I resume these memoirs. Most important events have occurred, the consequences of which I cannot foresee and a blow has fallen upon our family circle, heart-rending and irreparable. Our country is subjugated and our dear boy Henry is no more —another sacrifice of blood, another mournful calamity of this cruel war. Genl. Lee evacuated Petersburg and Richmond about 1st April and on 9th surrendered his army to Genl. Grant at Appomattox C. H. Va. On 8th (Saturday) late in the afternoon Manly's Battery was attacked by the enemy near the Court House and Henry was wounded in the neck. It paralized him, rendered him speechless and lock jaw ensued. He was carried to a poor man's house by the name of Tyree on Sunday and there he lingered until 12th, (Wednesday) when he expired about 9 o'clock P. M. and was buried in the private burial ground of a Mr. Overton about ½ mile from Mr. Tyree. We have assurances he was well cared for and decently interred. He was the only member of the

battery that we could hear was injured, and why was it that he was permitted to fall? Oh God thou knowest! What a bitter pang! We looked anxiously for him among the returning soldiers; we hoped to see him hourly make his appearance. We sought diligently to ascertain his situation, until we were informed he was wounded. A glimmer of hope still sustained us until a visit of William to the place (about 10 miles from Appomattox Court House) to enquire after him, brought us the certain and melancholy truth that he was dead. That awful truth sunk our hearts, threw a gloom over the household, plunged us into the deepest grief, and night and day has his dear mother mourned, the loss of her absent boy with broken lamentations! Henry was a sprightly, a very intelligent youth, energetic, patriotic and hopeful, a dutiful and promising child: and we had hoped for him a long life of usefulness to the family and to the country. God thought best to remove him from this scene of strife and turmoil, that he might not witness the subjugation of his country: and I humbly trust has taken him to a world of rest and peace. We bow! O God! to thy righteous will and pray that this great affliction may be sanctified to our good. Let the thought console you, my dear children, that he died in the defence of his country in the path-way of duty. May you all discharge your duties with the same fidelity and die in the same honorable way. Let us humbly submit to the dispensation of a righteous Providence, who for some wise purpose inscrutable to us, has removed from our family the loved one, who so frequently enlivened our home circle and promised so much for the future. It teaches us among other lessons that the young also die and the importance of being prepared for that change whether old or young. It has left an aching void, that nothing but the consolations of God's Spirit can supply and to *Him* I commend you for light and comfort, and pray that *He* may sustain and support us in this our day of trial and grief.

DOWNFALL OF THE CONFEDERACY

On the day that Henry was wounded I was in Raleigh to visit William who was sick in the hospital. He obtained leave of absence for a week to come home and recruit, but before the week expired Genl. Johnston retreated, Raleigh was occupied by the enemy, he was prevented from joining his command until Genl. Johnston surrendered his army to Genl. Sherman about 20th April. Subsequently, as we hear, the other military forces of the Confederacy surrendered, and thus the Confederate military organization was disband[ed] and the enemy victorious. The President of the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis, and many other prominent Southern officials have been arrested and are

now in prison. In one short month our government terminated, and we are placed at the mercy of the United States military authorities. The President, Mr. Lincoln, was assassinated at a theatre in Washington City, on or about 14th April, and the Vice President, Andrew Johnson, is now the President. Mr. Johnson has appointed Mr. Holden provisional Governor of North Carolina, who has declared all the civil offices of the State vacant and proposes to call a convention to reconstruct the State government. The military have declared the slaves free, and still occupy the Capitol and important positions in different sections of the State: so that all is chaos and nothing definite for the future. This much may be said with certainty that now, to all intents and purposes, we are a conquered province, held and governed by the strong arm of military power. Mr. R. P. Dick has been appointed United States District Judge in my place. I expect to be arrested and tried for treason and all my property confiscated if what appears to be the intention of the reigning authority is enforced. It is useless for me to extend this gloomy picture. It darkens as it expands, and, as it is viewed more closely. And yet, the Lord reigneth! and I believe nothing will transpire but what *He* permits, and therefore with confidence I leave my all to Him; and conclude this hasty resume of passing events, with some probability, that I may not soon, if ever, continue in this form, any note of future events.

May God bless, guide, and protect you!!

LEE'S FAREWELL ADDRESS[19]

HEAD QRS. ARMY NO. VA., April 10th, 1865.

GENERAL ORDER NO. 9.

After four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the brave survivors of so many hard fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I consented to this result, not from any distrust of them, but feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that would compensate for the loss that must have attended the continuation of the contest, I determined to avoid the sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen. By the terms of agreement officers and men can return to their homes and remain until exchanged.

You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you his blessing and protection.

With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you all an affectionate farewell.

(Signed) R. E. LEE,
General.

At Appomatox C. H., Va.

[19]Copied in the Scrap-Book in Judge Biggs' handwriting.

THE KANSAS QUESTION[20]

From the Tarboro Southerner of April 17, 1858.

Letter from Hon. Asa Biggs—We copy below from the *Baltimore Republican* the letter of the Hon. Asa Biggs of this State, addressed to the Lecompton meeting recently held in that city. This letter will commend itself to the reader by its sound practical sense and by the clear and correct view which it presents of the present condition of the Kansas question. The Richmond *Enquirer* has paid Col. Biggs the high compliment of copying the letter [as] embodying in the clearest and best manner its own views on this absorbing question.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, March 3, 1858.

GENTLEMEN:—I cannot conveniently attend the mass meeting in Baltimore to which I am kindly invited by yours of 20th ultimo.

The object of the meeting I cordially approve. President Buchanan, in my opinion, should not only be publicly approved, but he deserves the affection of the people, for his bold and patriotic position, in the face of an unprincipled opposition and the defection of some Democrats from whom he had reason to expect better things. I candidly confess that the state of affairs in Kansas for the last three years, has not given me a very exalted opinion of the character of that people for an enlightened self-government: but they partake of the characteristics generally of our border population, who drawn together by a speculating mania and a desire and expectation to make themselves speedily rich, are not very scrupulous about the forms of law.

But what have we in the Lecompton constitution under which it is proposed by the President to admit Kansas? It is a constitution emanating from legal authority and in its adoption all the necessary forms of law, to ascertain the people's will, have been observed. It is no doubt true that there have been fraud and violence and great irregularities in the action of all parties in Kansas: and suppose, as is charged, there was fraud, at the Delaware crossing or other precincts yet it cannot be denied that, deducting this and all other fraudulent votes (as they ought to be with the emphatic condemnation and denunciation of all honest men) still there is an overwhelming *legal* majority of the people of Kansas, voting for delegates and approving the Constitution. If however it be admitted that a majority of people *in* the Territory refused to vote, then to make that an excuse for refusing admission is to encourage *faction* and rebellion against lawful authority.

It may be seriously questioned whether we do not make a dangerous precedent in admitting a state with such a small population: but upon the whole it is evident to my mind, that the contest is one between law and order and faction and rebellion: between peace and agitation: between the supporters of the Constitution and constitutional rights of all the States and those disposed to stir up civil strife and to test the strength of the Union

[20] Copied in the Scrap-Book in Judge Biggs' handwriting.

for political aims and ends. And, in the language of the President, I believe that "the speedy admission of Kansas into the Union would restore peace and quiet to the whole Country. Already the affairs of this Territory have engrossed an undue proportion of public attention. They have sadly affected the friendly relations of the people of the States with each other, and alarmed the fears of the patriots for the safety of the Union. Kansas once admitted into the Union, the excit[e]ment becomes localized and will soon die away for want of outside aliment."

It is palpable that in the admission of Kansas the South only obtains the recognition of a principle what can never be surrendered without dishonor. It cannot be admitted that if the leading doctrine of the opposition, "No more slaveholding States shall ever be admitted into the Union," be practically enforced, it will necessarily work a dissolution of the Union, that Union which is the fondest hope of the patriot here, of the friend of free institutions everywhere. That the South will ever consent in the practical administration of this government to admit her inequality because of the institution of slavery in the States, is to suppose her greatly degenerated in moral instincts and courage and totally unworthy of political [?] association. How can any honorable man calculate that she would tamely submit to such a position of inferiority, which would humiliate her in her own estimation and disgrace her in the eyes of the civilized world? Let all be assured that the *most* conciliatory at the South and those who deprecate a dissolution as one of the greatest calamities that could befall us (of whom I profess to be one) will never yield to this disgraceful alternative. I do not thus write in a spirit of idle alarm. The breach between the extremes is wide. An estrangement of feeling begins to develop itself among the most prudent and moderate, North and South, and it becomes important for them now to understand each other distinctly; calmly to survey the tendency of things, that they may act together promptly and efficiently to avert the catastrophe which threatens us, and which it is idle and criminal to treat with derision. Could we interrogate the leaders of the opposition and obtain a candid answer would they not promptly respond: "If the constitution of the United States were now for the first time to be formed, I would never consent to insert certain provisions therein contained, touching the question of slavery, and I would insist upon other provisions, which would secure the entire extinction of slavery in the State." If they would not make such an avowal, then their present professions are hypocritical and insincere; and if avowed does it not incontestably establish, that their opposition is not merely to the toleration of slavery *in the Territories* but that they are *radically opposed to the Constitution itself*. And will Northern men professing to be Democrats give sanction to such sentiments, and encouragement to such a party? And yet with pain do I witness daily this tendency in a few—*one* at least heretofore looked to and relied upon as a rampart (as we had hoped) prepared and designed to protect the sacred chart of our liberties, and stay the wild tide of fanaticism which threatened the stability of the Union.[21] But if personal disappointment and chagrin or experiments for political promotion seduce many, we may congratulate ourselves that in the President we have one, who with Roman firmness, will not permit the State and Constitution to suffer detriment under his administration.

---

[21]Probably a reference to Stephen A. Douglas.

You do well therefore, gentlemen, as you propose, publicly to hold up the hand of the President: to approve and defend his course, the just and grateful reward of a faithful public servant.

I have the honor to be very respectfully
Your obedient servant
ASA BIGGS

Mess. B. H. Richardson, B. C. Presstman, and
J. J. Graves, *Committee of Invitation.*
Baltimore

RESIGNATION FROM THE SENATE[22]

From the Tarboro Southerner of 15 May, 1858.

Hon. Asa Biggs. We publish below a letter from Mr. Biggs, addressed to the people of North Carolina in which he informs them of his resignation of the office of Senator and returns his thanks for honors heretofore conferred upon him. The people of the State have never had a more faithful or conscientious public servant than Asa Biggs. He goes now from political service to a more quiet position but one in which his usefulness will still be widely felt and appreciated. The following is his letter.—*Standard.*

To the People of North Carolina.

In resigning, as I have, the elevated position of Senator of the United States I cannot sever the relation of representative and Constituent, without expressing my feelings of gratitude for the high confidence reposed in me by you: and whatever position I may hereafter occupy, I shall always remember and acknowledge with great sensibility the kind partiality of those generous friends, who placed me in one of the highest, most dignified and responsible offices in the world. My resignation became a duty to my family, those and those only who have a higher claim upon me than the claim of my countrymen to serve in public office. I feel the less regret, because from the Senate I go with the public service in a different capacity more congenial to my feelings and habits, and one in which I trust I may be able to serve my Country not less useful[ly], though in a more retired and quiet sphere. [It] is also with less reluctance because I am confident that in the Executive of our State, we have the assurance of an appointment of such a successor to me as will faithfully reflect your wishes and maintain the high character of North Carolina in the Councils of the Confederacy—a character although not pressed upon public attention with arrogance is sustained with inflexible fidelity: and as I have reason to know is properly and highly appreciated by the wise, considerate and patriotic. Whatever errors I may have committed as your Representative, I entertain an abiding conviction that no tarnish has attached to the fair fame of our venerated commonwealth: and in this I have a becoming pride.

Suffer me in conclusion to repeat my profound acknowledgements and gratitude for the distinguished honor you have conferred upon me; and upon my retirement to impress upon all my country men the importance of sustaining in all our public measures and public men and in all our intercourse as Citizens of this great Union of States, the well earned and cherished reputation of North Carolina as the "honest old North State," although we may occasionally, in this degenerate day, for such an ambition, incur the sneers of witlings and spendthrifts.

ASA BIGGS.

Washington, May 4, 1858.

[22]Copied in the Scrap-Book in Judge Biggs' handwriting.

JOURNAL OF A TRIP FROM WILLIAMSTON TO NEW YORK AND BACK IN 1832

Williamston, April 18, 1832.

Left Williamston about 9 o'clock went to Powells to dinner where there was cackling and crowing in the extreme and among the crowd some young men who revel in dissipation and whose heedlessness is a good lesson to those who indulge in vice. Arrived at Nickoles where we staid all night. Here I met with Mr. Simmons Sheriff of Halifax whom I found to be a very pleasant and agreeable man.

[April 19th]. Left Scotland Neck 19th—four passenger—arrived at Winton about dark—to this place had a fine coach and good horses.

[April 20th]. Left Winton 20th about four o'clock with eight passengers and after jolting and considerable fatigue got to Norfolk ½ after three—crossed the river in a steam boat which plies continually. Portsmouth, we passed so soon that I cannot tell much about it. Norfolk has the appearance of considerable business—many of the streets are very dirty. Should'ent suppose the corporation are very vigilant. We travelled in the stage with Genl. Blount of Nashville, N. C. whom I found to be a very pleasant man. We had also two Methodist preachers. They had not much peace and although they assumed a very grave appearance and occasionally groaned yet that had but little effect in checking the glee. We took in on the road a Mr. Craig, from Tallahasse, who is now with me at the Steam Boat Hotel and I think a fine young man. Mr. Shaw, Genl. Blount and the preachers left this evening for Baltimore in the Columbus. She is an elegant Boat.

[April] 21st. After enjoying a good nights rest, with the exception of being once interrupted by the arrival of the Steam Boat, Mr. Craig and myself went over to Portsmouth and from there to the Navy Yard. Here we spent our time very interesting[ly]. We first visited the ship now building called New York, she is a 74: all enclosed in an excellent house —great many mechanics industriously engaged in building her—we went to the top deck—she has three decks—she is constructed of live oak timber almost entirely—she is a huge machine, we next visited the Delaware now lying at the wharf repairing—on board her I met with Dr. Baker, who accompanied us during the balance of our visit—here I could discover more about the management and apparatus of a ship. We next directed our steps to the Dry Dock and in going there we passed a great

many shops and the commanding officer Comr. Warrington residence—which is tastefully arranged. The ship North Carolina is lying out in the stream all covered. The old ships Guirrere [sic] and Macedonia are also lying out in the stream. We arrived at the Dry Dock after passing several stoers [sic] houses and stones yards. Here I cannot attempt a discription of the importance and magnificence of this work. Suffice it to say it is constructed of solid stone in a cavity near, by throwing out the dirt for at least 25 feet below the surface of the water, and sufficiently long for a 74 gun ship to lie in. It is made in the form of a ship. The bottom is well secured by spiling and then solid rock for about six feet deep. It is to be construed [constructed] with gates so as to send a ship in by hoisting. There are now a great many hands engaged in building it, and it will take them twelve months longer to complete it. It is a grand work and bleeds Uncle Sam's pocket to excess I should suppose. Adjacent to it they are building a house and well which is to be used by steam engine to draw off the water from the dock, and when necessary to flood it again so as to float the ship. We returned and examined the arms. Shot and Balls in abundance may be found there and cannons numerous. Passing to and fro the Sentry may be seen, and occasionally a midshipman or L[i]eutenant as stiff as a poker and as proud as my Aung Peg. Upon the whole my visit there was very interesting and I derived some idea how the money was expended in the Navy Department. We crossed the river in a small Steam-Boat for which you have to pay 6¼ cts and it is very accommodating to the public as well as profitable to the owners. The Capt told me that he generally crossed 100 times in the day, and not less on an average, I suppose, cross than 6 or 8 persons. She crosses in four or five minutes. Portsmouth is a very pretty little place, but the corporation are kindred spirits with those of Norfolk.

They neglect their streets and you find them dirty and disagreeable. It is not to be wondered at if malignant fevers are common and fatal in Portsmouth, and more especially in Norfolk.

The Marine Hospital, which you see at a distance from Norfolk is a commanding Spectacle. It appe[a]rs to be a splendid establishment. This morning I went on board the Potomac and Pocahontas. The Pocahontas is a most splendid Boat.

[April] 22st [nd]. Left Norfolk this morning 9 oclock in the Fredericksburg, run 18 miles in an hour and half; passing got a view of the Rip-Raps and Old Point Comfort. The Rip-Raps is an important work —with the aid of a Spye-glass I could ascertain how it was built. It is a solid bed of stone in 18 ft water, about 5 acres. There are 3 or 4 houses on it, and a wharf projects from it. It is truly a great work, and as is

the necessary consequence must have cost an immense quantity of money. But they appeared inconsiderable, when compared with the battery and apparatus on Old Point. Here you see port-holes in every direction, and flags flying. I was informed that 100 guns could be made to bear on the size of a Hhd-head. It is a magnificent spectacle. Any attempt to pass up the river by an enemy would meet with warm work, too warm for comfort. I think it would be utterly impossible for an enemy to pass up between the Battery and the Rip-Raps.

[April] 23th [nd]. This morning about 7 oclock we passed Mt. Vernon. Instinctively I became melancholy and the reflection that there lies the great and good man, our Country's Benefactor, struck me with awe. The Situation of my country in '76, the abject slavery to which we were reduced, the fearless and intrepid Spirits that dared to stand up and defend our rights, the melancholy spectacle which we presented during the great struggle for liberty, the grand instrument with all his virtues shining that effected so much; who by his address could check those disposed to murmur—establish the wavering, and inspire the whole with that love of liberty and equal rights that can effect almost impossibilities, the important advantage we derived from his firmness and wisdom in establishing our republic, all passed in review before my imagination, and could not fail to produce sensations uncommon. A profound reverence for the tomb of Washington, and an earnest desire that the same principles which he taught may continue to be inculcated and which are alone calculated to perpetuate this fair fabric. Mount Vernon is a beautiful situation. It possesses a commanding view of the Potomac. On the opposite point of land, Fort Washington is erected. It would be very difficult for an enemy to pass this place. Arrived at Washington 9 oclock took lodgings at Gadsbys. Here I met with Mr. T. Jones and Mr. Parker from Tarboro, visited the Capitol [as] soon [as] I arrived with Jones. The Capitol is so magnificent that I cannot attempt a description and therefore decline it. Suffice it to say, that the Rotunda is ornamented with four paintings by Trumbull, most superb and to the life. About 11 oclock the two Houses met went H. R. first, where I heard but little, petitions first presented, and then they took up the trial of Houston.[23] This was so insiped that we left and went to the Senate. Here we heard a very interesting debate, on the appropriation for Minister to France. Several members were designated to me. The appropriation was lost by a majority of two. Returned to the Repre-

[23]The trial of Sam Houston. Houston had visited Washington in the interest of the Cherokee Indians. While he was there William Stanberry, a member of Congress from Ohio, charged him with attempting to obtain a fradulent contract for furnishing supplies to the Indians. Houston, in retaliation, attacked Stanberry and beat him severely. He was tried and reprimanded at the bar of the House, and fined $500, but President Jackson remitted the fine.

sible the course of these stages of development in the history of the county should be traced. Here written records are apt to fail but landmarks often tell the story. The old trails may show the course of the retiring trapper, the names hog run, horse pocosin, etc., the grazing ground of the herdsman, while land grants and deeds indicate the advent of the farmer. Visualization of these processes in the settlement of our country is always helpful to those interested in state or national history; it also adds color and value to the narrative for those interested in purely local affairs.

Much more detailed information may be had and is desirable concerning the last stages of industrial development, the agricultural and manufacturing. From the angle of state and national, as well as purely local affairs, studies of the following topics would be of inestimable value: the average size of farms in various epochs of the county's history, the number of slaves and the nature of white tenancy prior to 1860, the products and the method of marketing them, and the agricultural changes since 1865. Likewise the rise of manufactures should be traced from the grist and lumber mills to the modern factory. The whole subject of economic history, county by county, is full of possibilities, for the economists and the sociologists are more and more deserting their theories for the study of industrial transformations in small communities or units. Yet in none of our county histories can there be found an analysis of the ante-bellum plantation system or documents illustrating plantation life. In fact, the only documents illustrative of agricultural conditions in the South prior to 1860 and the only study of the agricultural transformation since 1865 have been published by students of general or of state history residing beyond the confines of North Carolina.[6]

The topics thus outlined do not by any means cover the field of county history but they do illustrate the blending of state or regional and local interests. However, they must be treated cross-sectionally, for the history of a county must follow the grand divisions of national history, the Colonial, the Revolutionary, the Federal, the Civil War, the Reconstruction and the contemporary periods. To make more concrete and definite my conception of county investigation, I take the liberty of outlining in detail one cross-section, the period of Reconstruction. The history of the county from 1865 to 1876 should discuss the following subjects:

I. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

A. Loss of men and property during the war, based on censuses of 1860, 1870, 1880 and local sources; shifting of population.

[6]Phillips: Plantation and Frontier, Vols. I and II of Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Brooks: The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912 (University of Wisconsin).

[he] appeared very familiar, open and frank, conversed without reserve, his countenance displays good-feeling, he is now very busily engaged. We only remained with him a few minutes. Went to the Capitol visited the Library which is a very pleasant apartment, here I was introduced to Mr. Sheppard of N. C.[29] I was also introduced to Maj. Donaldson.[30] Visited the H. R. there heard the defence of Houston's Counsel, Mr. Key,[31] until the adjournment of the House. The Senate sat today with closed doors. There were a great many persons in the Representative Hall, and gallery. Mr. Key made a very able argument.

[April] 27th. Visited the H. R. with an expectation of hearing Mr. Key close his argument, but soon after I went in they voted to take the yeas and nays on a question of small importance and hearing that Mr. Key was prevented from closing his argument by indisposition, I left the Hall and went to the Senate Chamber. When I went in Mr. [Isaac] Hill from N. H. was reading a speech which was dry and insipid. This is the second time he has spoken, or read if you please, and there is no interest about him, he was succeeded by several Senators and last by Mr. Hayne who spoke about an hour and half, and the House adjourned before he concluded his speech. It was on the General Pension Bill. He was opposed to it. Among other of his arguments he said that every project was afloat now to draw money from the Treasury. He quoted several cases proposed by Senators which he considered entirely foreign from the object of their Legislation and dealt quite harshly with those whose only object it seemed to be, to draw money from the Treasury and devise projects to expend money so as to seem to have an excuse for levying taxes. General Hayne is a handsome speaker and becomes more and more interesting as he proceeds.

The Senate adjourned until Monday next. I believe I shall remain here until Tuesday to hear him conclude his speech. I had some conversation to day with Judge Mangum relative to the Vice Presidency. He says, he is entirely uncommitted on the question. That he shall be governed by the course pursued by the friends of Mr. V. B.[32] in Congress in assisting to adjust the Tariff. If that is adjusted satisfactorily this session, he is willing to go with his friends if the Choice of V. B. be it, but that if it is not settled, and Mr. V. B.'s friends here cooperate with Clay in preventing a settlement, that he shall proclaim to his friends and to the State that he will not support Van Buren, and that it is inconsistent with their interest to do so; and depend upon public sentiment for support; that he cannot consent to vote for a man, no

[29] William B. Sheppard, of Elizabeth City, member of Congress.
[30] Probably Andrew J. Donelson, the President's Private Secretary.
[31] Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star Spangled Banner."
[32] Martin Van Buren.

matter who he may be, who, with his friends, will not assist in moderating this onerous system, but who will join sides with our oppressors. I coincide decidedly with Mr. Mangum, as I have always expressed myself on this subject; not that I would prefer V. B. to any man, but that I conceived him the only man on whom the party would concentrate generally, but that I will not—I can not vote for him, if he and his friends adhere to the policy of the American System and coincide with those who are attempting to fix upon us a system that will ultimately ruin us.

[April] 28th. I visited the parade ground—here were assembled four uniform companies, three of which joined and formed a batallion—the display was quite interesting and the music animating. I marched with them about a mile when they were drawn up before a house and one of the companies was presented with an elegant stand of colors by a young lady. She made some remarks in presenting, which were answered, but as the crowd was so thick I could not hear them. I then visited the House of Representatives. When I went in Mr. Adams[33] was speaking on the appropriation for a minister to France. He was against the conclusion of the Senate and for the appropriation. His remarks were very interesting. On the vote being taken they disagreed with the Senate by a majority of 30—shortly after the house adjourned.

[April] 29th. Sunday. This day I passed heavily—did not even go to church—I walked considerable but upon the whole I spent this day as dull as a Sunday in Williamston which bye the bye is not very lively.

[April] 30th. Took a general walk through the Capitol into all the apartments—concluded my walk at the Senate Chamber, here I met with Judge Mangum who was wofully chagrined with the Tariff report from the Treasury Department—he conceives it will be detrimental to the Southern interest—he thinks the prospect for an equitable adjustment more gloomy now than at any time during this session. We are subject to Colonial vassalage, says he, more intolerable than the causes that led to our Revolution and that the South must be unanimous and manifest a determined resistance by protesting most solemnly against the system before we shall be able to rectify the abuses. Judge Mangum is a genuine Southerner—possessed of warm feelings for their interest, and repudiates the principles of our oppressors; he does not hesitate to call things by their right names and dauntlessly contemns those who sacrifices principles for men or office on the hope of office. I remained in the Senate Chamber for an hour or more when the House went into Executive Session with closed doors and so remained until adjourn-

[33] John Quincy Adams.

ment. I consequently was disappointed in not hearing Mr. Hayne conclude his speech on the Pension Bill. I however spent my time agreeably, for soon after I went to the Hall H. R. Mr. Clayton submitted the long looked for report on the Bank question—before however the report was read Mr. McDuffie[34] rose and in a speech stated his objections to the prominent features of the report which was dictated by the Majority—he was followed by Mr. Clayton, Mr. Conbreling [sic][35] and Mr. Adams and some others and the report was not read before the House adjourned. I presume, though the substance of it was, after an examination of the evidence advising the House not to recharter the Bank. Mr. Clayton is a bold, animated and intrepid speaker. I am disappointed somewhat in Mr. McDuffie—when he rises he appears considerable embarrassed and by no means is an agreeable speaker, I suppose his talent is more in writing than speaking. Great respect though is paid to him especially on this question, silence prevailed, as the discussion has been anxiously looked for for some days past Mr. Conbreling [sic] is quite a pleasant speaker. He s[p]eaks without embarrassment. Mr. Adams is quite a conspicuous member, and speaks on all important questions. His delivery is not very good, his voice weak. On Saturday he split off from the Opposition party and a[r]gued most strenuously for the Appropriation for an out fit of a minister to France. He succeeded in the measure.

May 1st. This morning left Washington and dined at Baltimore. I was considerably disappointed in the country between Washington and Baltimore—for many miles the country is much broken, land poor and miserable buildings—small huts with thatched roofs—you have taverns in abundance—some look more like a pigstys than the mansion of a human being. I passed the battle ground which has nothing to distinguish it and which I should not have known but for information I derived from one of the passengers. I was though interested by a herd of deer 40 in number among which there were many young ones which I saw grazing in a pasture adjacent to the Road. The country is covered with oak and as you approach Baltimore some pleasant hills may be seen shaded by them. We crossed the Rail Road twice—once about 40 feet above it. I stopped at the Indian Queen Hotel and the street adjacent presents a very bustling aspect. I have travelled over Baltimore somewhat this evening. There is considerable business doing ap[p]arently and in some parts the streets are quite pleasant but the reverse is the case in other[s], particularly those when there is much business—they are kept dirty. I have seen some elegant draft horses here and some handsome harness horses.

---

[34]George McDuffie, of South Carolina.
[35]Churchill C. Cambreleng, of New York. He was a native of North Carolina.

May 2nd. Went on board the steam boat Carroll at 6 oclock A. M. No person on board that I know. The scenery on the river not very interesting. Baltimore harbor is much smaller than I expected. The scenery on Elk river is quite interesting. I forgot to make some remarks about the girls in Washington and Baltimore. At Washington the streets were crowded with the exquisitely fashionable—they occupied conspicuous places in both Halls. I did not see but few that were pretty—those who attempted to be conspicuous for fashion were generally ugly. They are remarkable anxious to marry I understand and tax their ingenuity to entrap some of the big folks—this disposition I think was manifested by one towards me thinking I expect from *my appearance* I was a member of Congress, Governor of a state or *Attorney General.* She ogled me to excess and to prevent her having the advantage of me I ogled her back again; she was quite a pretty girl! but enough of the ladies of Washington. The street on which I stopped in Baltimore was considerably thronged through the evening with ladies prominading, [sic] some *few* might be called pretty, some dressed excessively fine and some of them were extravantly ugly. Traveled from.....to New Castle on the Rail Road, 16 miles in an hour and 40 minutes, took the steam boat Robt Morris for Philadelphia. The country is level on the Rail Road generally—quite poor for a few miles [from] town but improve as you approach New Castle. Riding on the Rail Road is very pleasant, there was 17 persons in my car, we met several cars loaded with merchandise and it appears that a whole store was packed on them—they carry vast loads, the Horse that drawed [sic] our car after..... did not labour apparently in the least with the load. On board the Boat we had first rate eating and it was so much better than other places that I cannot omit noting it. I got the worth of my 50c here if I ever got it in eating a dinner. The banks of the Deleware [sic] presents a delightful scenery interspersed with houses and green valleys and occasionally a little village. I was much more pleased with the aspect of this country than any I had passed. I arrived at Philadelphia about 4 oclock. I have walked over the city considerable. It is handsomely arranged and some beautiful streets particularly Chestnut. That street presents quite a gay appearance—fashion may be seen sporting along through it and with it some very pretty girls. I am much pleased with this place. I have stop Hushills and

May 3rd. Left Philadelphia in the Trenton at 6 oclock, stopped a few minutes [at] Burlington and Bristol. The scenery on the river still continuous beautiful with pleasant situations. Burlington has some very pretty dwellings on the river. Bristol is a considerable place much larger than I expected to see, we arrived at Trenton where we took the

stage. The road for many miles was good but as we approached the rocks became worse and for the last part of the 25 miles was quite rough. On the south I passed large quantities of stone many places almost complet[e]ly covered some large some small and all the family of stones. We arrived at New Brunswick ½ after 1 and took the Boat Swan. New Brunswick is a much larger place than I expected to see. The country between Trenton and New Brunswick is very pretty. Princeton through which I passed is a delightful place. The Raritan is narrow and crooked for several miles from N. Brunswick but widens as you proceed—some pretty sites on it. I arrived at New York about 6 oclock, put up at U. S. Hotel where I found Mr. Bagley and Wm. Biggs.

May 4th. I have travelled about considerable thro' the city—went with J. B. Townsend to the City Hotel, Exchange, U. S. Bank, Custom House and to complete the variety, visited G. Thorburn seed store, here I was much pleased—attached to the establishment is a fish pond and aviary, the flowers in many directions in full bloom and all presenting an interesting and cheering aspect. I have also visited several merchants to whom I have been introduced but the most appalling part of my excursions to day is yet to be told—while walking up Pearl Street my attention was directed to a crowd running up to Cliff and thinking there was a fire in that direction I also hastened there but when I arrived it turned out to be a splendid ware house 6 stories high just tumbled to the ground burying in its ruins many persons—number unknown supposed to be 10 or 15. It was an awful sight—in a short time the bells commenced ringing and the people collecting and in a few minutes a vast concourse of persons were crowding towards the place. The citizens fell to work immediately in pulling down the beams and Cotton Bales to extricate those underneath them—while I remained there two negroes were taken out—one not much, the other very much injured. I understand there are three clerks missing one of whom the firm (Phelps and Peck) had great confidence in and to whom they were very much attached. He was to be married in a few day to Mr. Phelps daughter. O how inconstant and uncertain are all things here—by a sudden convulsion the fondest hopes may be blasted and our future lives rendered miserable and irksome. A survey of the vast ruins—the reflection on the situation and feelings of the unfortunate sufferers and above all the premature death of the young man who was to be married, the agonizing feelings of his intended bride could not fail to render me u[n]happy—my feeling and my sympathy are very much aroused, and I go to bed under a strong excitement leaving an immense quantity of

people surrounding the place and the firemen busily engaged in removing the rubbish.

May 5th. This morning I hear that five persons have been taken out, 4 alive some severely injured and one dead, three or four are now in sight but cant be got out. I went to see the ruins this morning but vast crowds of people still are in the adjoining streets, they are yet ingaged in removing the rubbish, immense quantities of produce were stored which is scattered in every direction consequently there will be a great loss of property. This day I have travelled about a great deal, visited the ruins once or twice more, it is now enclosed and police guarding it—by a notice in an office I understand there have been 14 persons taken out, 10 of whom were dead. While I was standing surveying this scene the alarm of fire was [sounded] which I followed up Broadway but it ended in smoke as I met an engine returning. By the bye, it must be very perplexing and outrageous unpleasant for the firemen to be called a mile or two from home, fatigue themselves almost to death on a false alarm.

May 6th. This morning with Mr. Bagley, Mr. Shaw and William visited Hoboken which is a very pleasant place, we enjoyed ourselves very well in drinking mead and eating cake and riding on the railroad which is propelled by your own hands. After dinner went to church where I spent my time very agreeable. At night took a long stroll up Broadway returned and went to bed.

May 7th. Visited the City Hall and got admission in to the Governor's Room which was very interesting in examining the paintings that adorn the room; visited the Common Council in which I saw the banner that was displayed in the inauguration of Genl Washington and also the large chair in which he sat when it was performed.

There are several relics of antiquity and in surveying this old arm chair I involuntarily seated myself therein—Why? Because the reflection was pleasant, that I had been seated in the *same chair* which our venerable benefactor had graced—upon the whole my visit here was quite interesting. I spent the balance of the day in walking the streets of the city and at night went to the Park Theatre, here I was considera[b]ly amused by the opera of Cinderella. They displayed some splendid scenery and the last a view of Mount Vesuvius was grand. There was a crowded house being the benefit of Miss Hughes a popular actress.

[May] 8th. This day I have spent in walking about town and riding. I went up to Greenwich—here are some pretty dwellings and not so much crowded but it was with difficulty I could keep my eyes, for it was quite

windy and clouds of dust flying in every direction. I staid there but a short time and hurried home with my eyes filled with dirt—had a very agreeable evening with J. and W. [?] Townsend.

[May] 9th. Left New York with Mr. Bagley and William in the steam boat Swan, arrived at Philadelphia ½ after 6. I was very much pleased with the scenery this day, especially the land carriage from New Brunswick to Trenton; part of the time I rode on the outside with the driver, which gave me a good opportunity of surveying the country. Princeton, and the adjacent country, is a lovely place, vegetation has put forth considerable since I passed here last Thursday.

[May] 10th. Left Philadelphia this morning and arrived at Baltimore about 4 oclock in the evening. Mr. Shaw was here passed a very pleasant evening in promenading the streets, here I met again with Mr. Craig—tonight we all visited the theatre and heard the humurous play of Col. Nimrod Wildfire by Hacket. I was very much amused at the many quaint expressions used.

[May] 11. Left this morning 9 oclock in the steam boat Columbus and arrived at Norfolk about 5 oclock next morning; part of the night the sea was quite heavy, and the boat cracked enough to scare rats.

[May] 12. At Norfolk we took the stage and arrived at Edenton about 9 oclock P. M. On this route we had a lively party—spent the time quite agreeable. We had a dusty road and on one stage a deficiency of horses that retarded us at least an hour. After taking supper at Hoskin's we went on board the steam boat and the night was pleasant—the moon shone very bright. We arrived at Jamestown about 4 oclock in the morning—here Mr. Bagley and William left in a double gig for Williamston, leaving me to bring up the baggage and take passage in a canoe; and here to cap the climax of communications and vehicles I was wofully chagrined, for I found a strong stream to contend with, and it was with difficulty we could stem the torrent; after several hours of hard struggling we landed at Williamston very much gratified to be able to put my foot on land and stretch my legs; found all my friends well; and thus ends the narration of my small travel.

Asa Biggs.

Finis.

Bulletin no.20

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
November 8-9, 1915

Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR
Secretary

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
STATE PRINTERS
1916

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. Peele, Raleigh.
Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson.
M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.
D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1915.

President ..... Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
First Vice-President ..... Miss Minnie W. Leatherman, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President ..... J. G. de R. Hamilton, Chapel Hill.
Third Vice-President ..... S. A. Ashe, Raleigh.
Secretary-Treasurer ..... R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.
(With Above Officers.)

John F. Bruton, Wilson.
A. W. McLean, Lumberton.
Howard Rondthaler, Winston-Salem.
Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson.
John L. Chambers, Charlotte.

1916.

President ..... Howard Rondthaler, Winston-Salem.
First Vice-President ..... Miss E. A. Colton, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President ..... Francis D. Winston, Windsor.
Third Vice-President ..... Henry A. London, Pittsboro.
Secretary-Treasurer ..... R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized October, 1900.)

Fiscal Years.	*Presidents.*	*Secretaries.*	*Paid up Membership.*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex. J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex. J. Feild	139
1902-1903	W. L. Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Adams	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	476
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor	435
1914-1915	Clarence Poe	R. D. W. Connor	412
1915-1916	Howard Rondthaler	R D. W. Connor	——

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)

1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)

1907—Kemp Plummer Battle, for "History of the University of North Carolina." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)

1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe, for "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)

1909—Clarence Poe, for "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by James Bryce.)

1910—R. D. W. Connor, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)

1911—Archibald Henderson, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works." (Presentation by Lee S. Overman.)

1912—Clarence Poe, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up." (Presentation by Walter H. Page.)

1913—Horace Kephart, for "Our Southern Highlanders." (Presentation by Maurice G. Fulton.)

1914—J. G. deR. Hamilton, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina." (Presentation by W. K. Boyd.)

1915—William Louis Poteat, for "The New Peace." (Presentation by Josephus Daniels.)

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE—SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance Statue in Statuary Hall (to be erected soon).
5. Fire-proof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. The Patterson Memorial Cup.
9. Lecture Extension Work started in leading cities and towns.
10. A program of Library Extension Work begun.

CONTENTS

PAGE

MINUTES OF SIXTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION 7

A Western View of Tradition. By Franklin K. Lane 12

The North Carolina of Tomorrow. By Clarence Poe 20

Can Democracy be Organized? By Edwin A. Alderman 31

Social and Economic Legislation in North Carolina during the Civil War. By E. W. Sikes. 42

Union Sentiment in North Carolina during the Civil War By Miss Mary Shannon Smith 50

The Southern Policy of Andrew Johnson. By J. G. deR. Hamilton.. 65

Thomas Jordan Jarvis and the Rebuilding of North Carolina. By Henry Groves Connor 81

North Carolina Bibliography for 1915. By Miss Minnie W. Leatherman. 98

A State Art Commission. By W. C. A. Hammel 102

MEMBERS FOR 1915-1916. 114

MINUTES

Proceedings and Addresses of the State Literary and Historical Association

RALEIGH, NOVEMBER 8-9, 1915

Monday, November 8th.

The Sixteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the City Auditorium, Raleigh, N. C., Monday evening, November 8, 1915, at 8:30 o'clock, with President Poe in the chair. At the request of President Poe, Rev. Dr. I. McK. Pittenger opened the session with prayer. President Poe then presented Hon. Josephus Daniels who introduced to the audience the speaker of the evening, Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, in the following words:[1]

It has become the fixed habit—and a very good habit—of this Association to have as orator, each recurring annual meeting, some man of national or international reputation. We have drawn from England and France and Argentina distinguished ambassadors quite as famed in the field of literature as in diplomacy. There have come to us distinguished statesmen trained in different schools of political thought, for here is a forum where difference of opinion and discussion are welcomed. Ex-President Roosevelt, a product of the best culture of the Empire State, and Thomas Nelson Page, the best interpreter and exponent of Southern life, have been equally welcomed. A few years ago we had the honor of welcoming Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator from Massachusetts, whose distinction as a man of letters is not second to the high place he holds in the United States Senate, distinguished son of New England. He called to the support of these ancient decrees the traditions of the earlier days of the Republic and strengthened the faith of those whose bump of veneration for the elder statesmen dominates them. He voiced the scholastic and conservative sentiment of the old school thought of New England, of which he himself is one of the finest products. Every man who rises to distinction must bring forth the spirit of his community. No great man must be hampered by his environment, but he is the livng expression of the spirit of the section from which he hails. If you did not know anything about the history of New England and of Harvard, and you were to read Senator Lodge's books and hear his finished orations, you would understand what the culture of New England does for a man. You would catch its very spirit. I mean, of course, the spirit of the old New England stock. When Senator Lodge was with us he spoke out of the largeness of his knowledge and out of his inherent and deep-seated conservatism, warning against the danger of departing from the ways of the fathers. He believes that the Constitution, as expounded by Hamilton and Madison, though holding to the Hamilton view, is the last word in political wisdom. The traditions of the elders were never enforced with more ability than by him.

[1]Reprinted from the report in the *News and Observer*, November 9, 1915.

Tonight we have with us as the speaker a gentleman who incarnates the briefer traditions of the Far West; who as a boy saw the development of the mighty Empire State of the Pacific. He caught the spirit of the pioneer, whose creed is to regard the traditions of the past as a light, but not as an unerring light. He is a type of what the old-time New Englander would call "the educated pioneer," a man who has more veneration for the sturdy pioneers who braved the perils of the desert and the floods to carry the new civilization to the far West, than he venerates any other traditions. He is versed in the story learning of past generations; he knows that history often repeats itself; he is a philosopher and a thinker and an artist in expression; but first and last he is a product of that newer Americanism which looks to the fathers only for lessons that will help the son outstrip the father. To Senator Lodge the referendum, the initiative, the recall, the election of Senators by the people—and like measures giving larger share in popular government—are revolutionary. The New England Senator shudders lest this breezy Western Democracy will unsettle the foundations of the Republic. Our speaker tonight welcomes them as opening larger doors for men of a new generation, and, instead of shrinking from the perils of Democracy, believes that the only way to cure the ills of Democracy is more Democracy. The New England school of thought would hold on to ancient prerogative, lest in removing it important principles should be destroyed. Our speaker tonight holds with Tennyson that he is a true conservative "who lops the moldering branch away." When you hear tonight of Western traditions, of the necessity of adapting ancient principles to the need of this living, moving, changing life of today, you will hear it in the language of a master of style, but you will also hear it from one who has himself been in the arena, and fought for the New Freedom unhampered by tradition—a new dispensation that is the hope of the Republic.

If I were introducing your speaker of this evening to an audience in any State except North Carolina, I would recount that brilliant page in his history when, upon the occasion of the San Francisco fire, he, surrounded by a few other heroic spirits, with a courage never excelled at Thermopylae or Gettysburg, led the movement which brought order out of chaos, and saved a portion of San Francisco. I would speak of his devotion to civic righteousness which made him the leader in the fight against graft and domination of politics by bosses and selfish machines. I would recount how, as Democratic candidate for Governor of California, he chose rather to be defeated than to make terms with privilege or selfish interest. I would point to his record as Interstate Commerce Commissioner, where after patient investigation he held the public service corporations to strict compliance with the law, compelled the express companies to reduce exorbitant rates, and was unmoved either by the representative of corporations or the clamor of the demagogue. I would speak of him as scholar, all of whose productions in style and manner and matter make literature. But I am speaking here about him tonight to my home folks and friends, and therefore I wish to speak of him simply as a man, sunny-tempered, who feels with Homer "I am a man, whatever concerns man interests me," as a golden-hearted gentleman, without fear and without reproach, who loves his friends and who is known and loved by them. One of the greatest pleasures that has come to me in the new life I have led in Washington is to have had the close official and personal contact with your orator of tonight. If nothing else had come to

me in official life, the intimacy with your speaker and the happiness of winning the friendship of Franklin K. Lane would have been enough.

I have the great pleasure of presenting to my home people tonight my warm personal friend, Franklin K. Lane, the best product that California has given to the Republic.

Mr. Lane then addressed the Association on "A Western View of Tradition." At the conclusion of Mr. Lane's address President Poe announced the award of the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup for 1915 to Dr. William L. Poteat, for his book, "The New Peace," and the cup was presented to Dr. Poteat, on behalf of the Association, by Mr. Josephus Daniels. At the conclusion of the program the members of the Association gathered at the Governor's Mansion where they were tendered a reception by the Caswell-Nash Chapter, D. A. R., of Raleigh.

Tuesday Morning, November 9th.

The session was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives by President Poe, at 10 o'clock. President Poe presented Dr E. W. Sikes, Professor of History in Wake Forest College, who read a paper on "Social and Economic Legislation in North Carolina During the Civil War." Dr. Sikes was followed by Miss Mary Shannon Smith, Professor of History and Education in Meredith College, who read a paper on "Union Sentiment in North Carolina During the Civil War." Miss Smith was followed by Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, who read a paper entitled "The South and the Administration of Andrew Johnson." At the conclusion of Dr. Hamilton's paper, the President announced that the paper on "Thomas Jordan Jarvis and the Rebuilding of North Carolina," by Hon. H. G. Connor, United States District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina, in the absence of Judge Connor would be read by the Secretary.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees:

Committee on Resolutions: Thomas W. Lingle, W. F. Marshall, W. K. Boyd, W. C. A. Hammel, and Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.

Committee on Nominations: E. K. Graham, Mrs. H. A. London, F. P. Hobgood, J. L. Chambers, and Miss Mary Shannon Smith.

Tuesday Afternoon, November 9th.

The State Literary and Historical Association met in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at 2:30 o'clock, in joint session with the North Carolina Folk Lore Society. Dr. D. H. Hill, Vice-President of the Folk Lore Society, presided. At the conclusion of the program of the Folk Lore Society, the Literary and Historical Association, with President Poe in the chair, concluded the program with the following papers:

"Bibliography of North Carolina for 1915," by Miss Minnie W. Leatherman, Secretary of the North Carolina Library Commission.

"Literature and Art: Two Means of Expressing the Genius of a People," by Benjamin Sledd, Wake Forest College.

"A State Art Commission," by W. C. A. Hammel, State Normal and Industrial College.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hammel's paper, the Committee on Resolutions submitted the following report which, after discussion, was adopted:

Resolved:

1. That the State Literary and Historical Association urge legislation by the General Assembly looking to the establishment of a State Art Commission at the earliest possible date.

2. That the Association give its formal and hearty endorsement to the movement looking to an appropriate celebration of the tercentenary of William Shakespeare, the greatest name in world literature, and offer to assist Mrs. Lindsay Patterson and other leaders in the movement in North Carolina in any reasonable manner.

3. That the Association lend its hearty support to Congressman Pou in his effort to secure legislation by Congress providing for a national memorial to Andrew Johnson, son of North Carolina, patriot, statesman, and friend of the Union and of the South, and that all reasonable effort be made to have this memorial located in the city of Raleigh near the statesman's birthplace.

4. That the Association appoint a committee to consider the advisability and practicability of having erected in the Capitol a tablet bearing the names of those writers of Colonial and Revolutionary times, through whose efforts the history of North Carolina has been preserved.

5. That the Association endorse the action of the United Daughters of the Confederacy by commending to the North Carolina Historical Commission the propriety of appropriately marking the house near Winchester, Virginia, wherein died those two distinguished North Carolina soldiers, Generals Stephen B. Ramseur and Johnston Pettigrew.

6. That the Association express its thanks to the press of the State that has given publicity to the program and the work of the Association.

7. That the Association acknowledge its high appreciation of the reception tendered the members of the Association at the Governor's Mansion by the Caswell-Nash Chapter, D. A. R.

8. That the Association likewise acknowledge its indebtedness to the authorities of Meredith College for the use of its auditorium and for all courtesies extended the Association and its members.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. W. LINGLE,
W. F. MARSHALL,
W. K. BOYD,
W. C. A. HAMMEL,
MRS. E. E. MOFFITT,
Committee on Resolutions.

It was moved and carried that a committee, consisting of the President and four others, to be selected by the President, be appointed to draft and report to the next session of this Association a bill looking toward the creation of a State Art Commission, which, when approved by this Association, shall be submitted to the General Assembly of 1917.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tuesday Evening, November 9th.

The Literary and Historical Association met in the auditorium of Meredith College, at 8:30 o'clock, with President Poe in the chair. President Poe delivered the President's annual address on "The North Carolina of Tomorrow," after which he presented Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, who addressed the Association on "Can Democracy be Organized?" At the conclusion of Dr. Alderman's address the Committee on Nominations submitted the following report which was unanimously adopted:

President, Howard Rondthaler, Winston-Salem.
First Vice-President, Miss Elizabeth A. Colton, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President, Francis D. Winston, Windsor.
Third Vice-President, H. A. London, Pittsboro.
Secretary-Treasurer, R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

The meeting was then adjourned *sine die*.

ADDRESSES

A Western View of Tradition

BY FRANKLIN K. LANE.

Measured in miles it is a long way from California to North Carolina. Yet in these days, when one can talk by wire, and even by wireless, from sea to sea, such standard of measurement seems to be of the past, and we must look for other ways in which to express the distances that lie between us, if in fact we are separated at all. Men are really divided by differences in sympathies and standpoint, not by miles, and I have thought that you, living in this older commonwealth of historic greatness and rich with hallowed traditions, might be interested in what may be called a western view of tradition. And perhaps we shall find that South and West are more really words of convenience than words of distinction.

No doubt you sometimes think that we are reckless of the wisdom of our forebears; while we at times have been heard to say that you live too securely in that passion for the past which makes men mellow but unmodern.

When you see the West adopting or urging such measures as presidential primaries, the election of United States Senators by popular vote, the initiative, the referendum and the recall as means supplementary to representative government you shudder, in your dignified way no doubt, at the audacity and irreverence of your crude countrymen. They must be in your eyes as far from grace as that American who visited one of the ancient temples of India. After a long journey through winding corridors of marble, he was brought to a single flickering light set in a jewelled recess in the wall. "And what is this?" said the tourist. "That, sir," replied the guide, "is the sacred fire which was lighted 2,000 years ago and never has been out." "Never been out? What nonsense! Poff! Well, the blamed thing's out now." This wild Westerner doubtless typifies those who without heed and in their hot-headed and fanatical worship of change would destroy the very light of our civilization. But let me remind you that all fanaticism is not radical. There is a fanaticism that is conservative, a reverence for things as they are that is no less destructive. Some years ago I visited a fishing village in Canada peopled by Scotchmen who had immigrated in the early part of the nineteenth century. It was a place named Ingonish in Cape Breton, a rugged spot that looks directly upon the Atlantic at its cruelest point.

One day I fell into talk with a fisherman—a very model of a tawny-haired viking. He told me that from his fishing and his farming he made some $300 a year. "Why not come over into my country," I said, "where you may make that in a month?" There came over his face a look of humiliation as he replied, "No, I could not." "Why not?" I asked. "Because," said he, brushing his hand across his sea-burnt beard, "because I can neither read nor write." "And why," said I, "haven't you learned? There are schools here." "Yes, there are schools, but my father could not read or write, and I would have felt that I was putting a shame upon the old man if I had learned to do something he could not do." Splendid, wasn't it! He would not do what his father could not do. Fine! Fine as the spirit of any man with a sentiment which holds him back from leading a full, rich life. Yet can you conceive a nation of such men—idolizing what has been, blind to the great vision of the future, fettered by the chains of the past, gripped and held fast in the hand of the dead, a nation of traditionalists, unable to meet the needs of a new day, serene, no doubt self-sufficient, but coming how far short of realizing that ideal of those who praise their God for that they serve his world!

I have given the two extremes; now let us return to our point of departure, and the first question to be asked is, "What are the traditions of our people?" This nation is not as it was one hundred and thirty-odd years ago when we asserted the traditional right of Anglo-Saxons to rebel against injustice. We have traveled centuries and centuries since then—measured in events, in achievements, in depth of insight into the secrets of nature, in breadth of view, in sweep of sympathy, and in the rise of ennobling hope. Physically we are today nearer to China than we were then to Ohio. Socially, industrially, commercially the wide world is almost a unit. And those thirteen states have spread across a continent to which have been gathered the peoples of the earth. We are the "heirs of all the ages." Our inheritance of tradition is greater than that of any other people, for we trace back not alone to King John signing the Magna Charta in that little stone hut by the river side, but to Brutus standing beside the slain Caesar, to Charles Martel with his battle axe raised against the advancing horde of an old-world civilization, to Martin Luther declaring his square-jawed policy of religious liberty, to Columbus in the prow of his boat crying to his disheartened crew, "Sail on, sail on, and on!" Irishman, Greek, Slav and Sicilian—all the nations of the world have poured their hopes and their history into this great melting pot, and the product will be—in fact, is—a civilization that is new in the sense that it is the blend of many, and yet is as old as the Egyptians.

Surely the real tradition of such a people is not any one way of doing a certain thing; certainly not any set and unalterable plan of procedure in affairs, nor even any fixed phrase expressive of a general philosophy unless it comes from the universal heart of this strange new people. Why are we here? What is our purpose? These questions will give you the tradition of the American people, our supreme tradition—the one into which all others fall, and a part of which they are—the right of man to oppose injustice. There follows from this the right of man to govern himself, the right of property and to personal liberty, the right to freedom of speech, the right to make of himself all that nature will permit, the right to be one of many in creating a national life that will realize those hopes which singly could not be achieved.

Is there any other tradition so sacred as this—so much a part of ourselves—this hatred of injustice? It carries in its bosom all the past that inspires our people, and their spirit of unrest under wrong has lighted the way for the nations of the world.

There is tradition that is of the form, and tradition that is of the substance. The West stands for the latter—not for a mere group of words or for a well-fashioned bit of governmental machinery—but for a thing that is real that has come out of our life. For the only real traditions a people have are those beliefs that have become part of them, like the good manners of a gentleman. They are really our sympathies —sympathies born of experience. Subjectively they give standpoint; objectively they furnish background—a rich, deep background like that of some master of light and shade, some Rembrandt, whose picture is one great glowing mystery of darkness save in a central spot of radiant light where stands a single figure or group who hold the eye and enchant the imagination. History may give to us the one bright face to look upon, but in the deep mystery of the background the real story is told; for therein, to those who can see, are the groping multitudes feeling their way blindly toward the light of self-expression.

One-half of the world is at war today. We look with horror upon the inhumanity of human nature and say to ourselves: "Is this all that Christianity has brought? Have we made no further progress than to make possible this reversion to the days of Attila? What has become of that sweet song of the brotherhood of man? Was it but a spiritual opiate sung to deaden the soul of a brutal world? Whither has flown that sense of outrage against injustice, that men now die by the million because a prince was killed in Serbia?"

But these are the words of an unthinking despair. Surely our memories have not failed us. We must look back, look through this blinding storm of fire and see the Europe that was, and that will be again. Then

there was to be seen a pillar of fire leading the multitude—England trying to regain her lands for her people—Germany threatened with a transfer of political power from the few to the many—Russia slowly emerging from the middle ages with her groping Douma—France, la belle France, gentle, gracious, glorious France, living out the philosophy incorporated in the first ten lines of our own Declaration of Independence.

Europe may burn up. Her people may be blasted by bankruptcy. Her national lines may be made to follow new channels. Her industries may be buried. Her sons may fall and the blood and the brain of many an unknown Tolstoi, Beethoven, Pasteur or Darwin may fertilize her shell-furrowed fields. She may set up for a day new standards of national greatness. But these, all these, cannot destroy the passionate purpose of her people to own themselves, to find themselves and to decide for themselves what chains they will bear and what sacrifices they will make. For chains and sacrifices must be; these mean social life, and only the anarchist dreams of a life without restraints. But Europe knows that it may have what we Americans long ago gained, that degree of freedom in which sacrifice is made—consciously and proudly made—for those and to those with whom we have a common interest. And this is liberty.

Now, this is a Western view of tradition; it is yours, too; it was yours first; it was your gift to us. And is it impertinent to ask, when your sensibilities are shocked at some departure from the conventional in our Western law, that you search the tradition of your own history to know in what spirit and by what method the gods of the elder days met the wrongs they wished to right? It may be that we ask too many questions; that we are unwilling to accept anything as settled; that we are curious, distrustful, and as relentlessly logical as a child.

> "For what are we but creatures of the night
> Led forth by day,
> Who needs must falter, and with stammering steps
> Spell out our paths in syllables of pain?"

There are no grown-ups in this new world of democracy. We are trying an experiment such as the world has never seen. Here we are, so many million people at work making a living as best we can; 100,000,000 people covering half a continent—rich, respected, feared. Is that all we are? Is that why we are? To be rich, respected, feared. Or have we some part to play in working out the problems of this world? Why should one man have so much and many so little? How may the many secure a larger share in the wealth which they create without de-

stroying individual initiative or blasting individual capacity and imagination? It was inevitable that these questions should be asked when this republic was established. Man has been struggling to have the right to ask these questions for 4,000 years; and now that he has the right to ask *any* questions surely we may not with reason expect him to be silent. It is no answer to make that men were not asking these questions a hundred years ago. So great has been our physical endowment that until the most recent years we have been indifferent as to the share which each received of the wealth produced. We could then accept cheerfully the coldest and most logical of economic theories. But now men are wondering as to the future. There may be much of envy and more of malice in current thought; but underneath it all there is the feeling that if a nation is to have a full life it must devise methods by which its citizens shall be insured against monopoly of opportunity. This is the meaning of many policies the full philosophy of which is not generally grasped—the regulation of railroads and other public service corporations, the conservation of natural resources, the leasing of public lands and water powers, the control of great combinations of wealth. How these movements will eventually express themselves none can foretell, but in the process there will be some who will dogmatically contend that "Whatever is, is right," and others who will march under the red flag of revenge and expoliation. And in that day we must look for men to meet the false cry of both sides—"gentlemen unafraid" who will neither be the money-hired butlers of the rich, nor power-loving panderers to the poor.

Assume the right of self-government and society becomes the scene of a heroic struggle for the realization of justice. Take from the one strong man the right to rule and make others serve, the right to take all and hold all, the power to grant or to withhold, and you have set all men to asking, "What should I have, and what should my children have?" And with this come all the perils of innovation and the hazards of revolution.

To meet such a situation the traditionalist who believes that the last word in politics or in economics was uttered a century ago is as far from the truth as he who holds that the temporary emotion of the public is the stone-carved word from Sinai.

A railroad people are not to be controlled by ox-team theories, declaims the young enthusiast for change. An age that dares to tell of what the stars are made; that weighs the very suns in its balances; that mocks the birds in their flight through the air, and the fish in their dart through the sea; that transforms the falling stream into fire, light and music; that embalms upon a piece of plate the tenderest tones of the

human voice; that treats disease with disease; that reaches into the very grave itself and starts again the silent heart—surely such an age may be allowed to think for itself somewhat upon questions of politics. The age must be allowed to think indeed! And are we of the United States all who count in this age? If we think in the foot-prints of our fathers, fearful that we may "put a shame upon the old man," is that an end to the trouble? Is Europe not to speak because now her voice is silenced by the roar of guns? Unless I am greatly mistaken it is not from California or from Kansas or from Wisconsin that traditional forms and ideas are to receive their next great challenge, but from one or more of the nations now at war. It will in substance be a challenge that we prove ourselves as against them; not upon the field of battle, but in the field of service to a people. The world recognizes that nations may not live upon their past but must submit themselves to the pragmatic test, and we are to be put to a test of all that we have of purpose and of ingenuity to establish the superiority of our form of government as a working scheme for giving men what they want.

Those soldiers on the European battle fields are thinking this very day of what government means, of what society is organized for, of what it can do that it has not done, of what it has done that it should not do. And they will go home with a new view of the world and of their relation to it. Kipling presented us with the picture of such a man's mind in his Chant-Pagan. A retired British Tommy, a cockney, is scorning himself because of the modest duties which he is called to fufill and the small place he now fills in the world as compared with that he held on the South African veldt.

Me that 'ave been what I've been,
Me that 'ave gone where I've gone,
Me that 'ave seen what I've seen—
'Ow can I ever take on
With awful old England again,
An' 'ouses both sides of the street,
And 'edges two sides of the lane,
And the parson an' "gentry" between,
An' touchin' my 'at when we meet—
Me that 'ave been what I've been?

Me that 'ave followed my trade,
In the place where the Lightnin's are made,
'Twixt the Rains and the Sun and the Moon;
Me that lay down an' get up
Three years an' the sky for my roof—
That 'ave ridden my 'unger an' thirst
Six thousand raw mile on the hoof,
With the Vaal and the Orange for cup,

An' the Brandwater Basin for dish,—
Oh! it's 'ard to be'ave as they wish,
(Too 'ard, an' a little too soon),
I'll 'ave to think over it first—
ME!

I will arise an' get 'ence;—
I will trek South and make sure
If it's only my fancy or not
That the sunshine of England is pale,
And the breezes of England are stale,
An' there's somethin' gone small with the lot;
For *I* know of a sun an' a wind,
An' some plains and a mountain be'ind,
An' some graves by a barb-wire fence;
An' a Dutchman I've fought 'oo might give
Me a job were I ever inclined,
To look in, and offsaddle an' live
Where there's neither a road nor a tree—
But only my Maker an' me,
And I think it will kill me or cure,
So I think I will go there an' see.
ME!

Out of the restless and awakened spirit of such men—German and Scotch and French and the others—will come surely conceptions and plans that we conservatives of America will be compelled to heed. For men are full of daring after war, and once their home fires are started again we may expect that these men who have served their governments will set about finding ways for their wider view of life to express itself in the disestablishment of the things that are useless and the upraising of things worth while. And who shall say that we should not enter on that race?

The problem of government is after all the problem of human growth, a problem of soils and sunshine, wind and weather, struggle and rejoicing, tools and vision, machinery and vitality, imagination and hope. The one constant and inconstant quantity with which man must deal is man—changing, inert, impulsive, limited, sympathetic, selfish, aspiring man. His institutions, whether social or political, must come out of his wants and out of his capacities. Luther Burbank has not yet made grapes to grow on thorns or figs on thistles. Neither has any system of government made all men wise. With our limitations such as they are we must ask not only what should be done, but what can be done. We may not follow the supreme tradition of the race to create a newer, sweeter world unless we give heed to its complementary tradition that man's experience cautions him to make a new trail with care. He must curb courage with common sense. He may lay his first bricks upon ..

the twentieth story, but not until he has made sure of the solidity of the frame below. The real tradition of our people permits the mason to place brick upon brick wherever he finds it most convenient, safest and most economical; but he must not mistake thin air for structural steel.

Let me illustrate the thought that I would leave with you by the description of one of our western railroads. Your train sweeps across the desert like some bold knight in a joust, and when about to recklessly drive into a sheer cliff it turns a graceful curve and follows up the wild meanderings of a stream until it reaches a ridge along which it finds its flinty way for many miles. At length you come face to face with a great gulf, a canyon—yawning, resounding and purple in its depth. Before you lies a path, zigzagging down the canyon's side to the very bottom, and away beyond another slighter trail climbs up upon the opposite side. Which is our way? Shall we follow the old trail? The answer comes as the train shoots out across a bridge and into a tunnel on the opposite side, coming out again upon the highlands and looking into the Valley of Heart's Desire where the wistful Rasselas might have lived.

When you or I look upon that stretch of steel we wonder at the daring of its builders. Great men they were who boldly built that road—great in imagination, greater in their deeds—for they were men so great that they did not build upon a line that was without tradition. The route they followed was made by the buffalo and the elk ten thousand years ago. The bear and the deer followed it generation after generation, and after them came the trapper, and then the pioneer. It was already a trail when the railroad engineer came with transit and chain seeking a path for the great black stallion of steel.

Up beside the stream and along the ridge the track was laid. But there was no thought of following the old trail downward into the canyon. Then the spirit of the new age broke through tradition, the canyon was leaped and the mountain's heart pierced, that man might have a swifter and safer way to the Valley of Heart's Desire.

The North Carolina of Tomorrow

PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL ADDRESS.

BY CLARENCE POE.

That lamented son of Greensboro, Mr. Robert C. Hood, whose untimely taking-off brought to many of us a sense of personal loss, wrote on the day of his death an article which describes with rare penetration and insight the temper and capacity of our average North Carolinian. The object of this article, which proved to be his farewell message to the State he loved, was to urge that our next Governor should give his entire term of office to a Currituck-to-Cherokee crusade in behalf of rural improvement, better roads, public health, and the development of new ideals of beauty and civic pride in our cities and hamlets. Mr. Hood then used one expression to which I wish especially to direct attention. "Many of our people," he said, "are lacking in knowledge of the better way of doing things; many of them lack experience," and then added this memorable sentence: "But just about all of them are capable of doing anything they set their minds to, and it is largely a matter of getting their minds properly set."

There in two sentences, as I see it, we have an epitome of North Carolina conditions today. We have a capable people, but a people lacking as yet in aspiration and ideals, a people who have not yet been awakened to the majesty of their own possibilities and the possibilities of the State in which they live.

It is a subject in keeping with this clear-sighted patriot's analysis of conditions, namely, the need for vision in the development of the North Carolina of tomorrow, the dynamic and practical value of an ideal in commonwealth-building, that I wish to emphasize tonight. And if such a subject seem to you less practical than those to which I usually give attention, I hope before I shall have concluded, to convince you of your error.

I am the more inclined to discuss this topic because, as a reading of the statement of purposes of this organization shows, its founders sixteen years ago declared that one of its chief objects should be "the engendering of an intelligent and healthy State pride" among our people. And such a pride, I maintain, in a State so young as North Carolina—a State whose soil was but yesterday the wilderness hunting-ground of a savage race—must be based not only on what her people have achieved in the

past, but upon faith in the splendor of her future. Take any group of seventeen-year-old schoolboys, and we may have pride in their achievements, but the mainspring of such a pride is not in what they have already done, but in the tokens of character and ability assuring far worthier work in the years of their maturity. And so with a State so young that the lightwood-knots in her oldest cultivated fields have hardly yet decayed: we may rejoice in the virtues her people have proved and in the heroic deeds that have brought fame to her sons and daughters, but it is when we confidently proclaim "that which they have done but earnest of the things they yet shall do" that our eyes kindle with the keenest pride and exaltation. With us any authentic and wholesome State pride must look forward as well as backward, or perhaps I should say, must look backward only in order more confidently to look forward.

In beginning my address, therefore, I wish to lay down three principles as being fundamental to "the engendering of an intelligent and healthy State pride" such as the founders of this organization yearned to promote among our people, three principles fundamental to such a development as patriotic North Carolinans of the temper of Mr. Hood have longed for through all the patient decades of our history:

1. We must have an ideal for the North Carolina of tomorrow—an ideal exalted and ennobling.

2. We must have faith in the triumph of that ideal.

3. There must be a mobilization of all the forces in the State that look for the realization of this ideal.

I. THE NEED FOR AN IDEAL.

My first appeal tonight, my friends, my first plea to you who really love North Carolina, and who love her I trust with a passionate and eager love, my first concern is that we shall set up a worthy ideal for our people and give them a vision of how great a State, how mighty a Commonwealth, it is possible for us to build here. We must see that we have not yet aspired greatly enough. In the matters of faith and imagination, one feels that we have indeed chosen but a few herbs and apples while the immortal destinies offer us whatsoever royal gifts we will—"bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all."

It is as true of States as of the persons who compose them, that they will achieve only in proportion to the splendor of their ideals, the earnestness with which these ideals are held, and the faith and zeal with which the ever-toilsome quest of an ideal is pursued. What President Wilson has said of the individual, "No man who does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise," was of old declared true of nations by the inspired writer: "Where there is no vision the people perish." "Great nations," as a modern writer has said, "are built on great ideas."

Let us reflect, therefore, and ask ourselves to what extent our statesmen, orators, and teachers have held up to our people a vision of the possibilities for Commonwealth-building here in North Carolina. Who has loved the State passionately enough and has believed in her profoundly enough to proclaim that we, "the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time"—that we may well achieve in the providence of God, a civilization as rich, as varied, as fruitful of sublime influences on all after-ages, as any that men in any other land or era have wrought out—England, Scotland, France, Germany, Greece, or Rome?

"The great use of a friend," says Emerson, "is to make us do what we can"; and today the great use of friends and lovers of North Carolina is to make her do what she can—to open the eyes of her people to their possibilities and engender in them a faith in their capacity to make these possibilities actualities. As surely as "the ancestor of every action is a thought," so surely is the ancestor of every great achievement a great ideal. Not without reason has it been said, "Let me write the songs of a nation and I care not who makes its laws," because however unworthy the laws of today may be, let but the seed of dynamic aspiration find lodgment in a people's heart and that aspiration will tomorrow body itself forth irresistibly in statutes and customs. Mr. George W. Russell, the Irish poet-philosopher, in a stimulating article on "The Antecedents of Civilization," has declared that "a civilization is the externalization of the soul and character of a people," and it is great and majestic according to the treasure of beauty, imagination, will and thought, laid up in the soul of the country. On all nations and all individuals, he continues, "is laid the necessity to make their external life correspond in some measure to their interior life"; so that a man of artistic soul will never be content to live in an ugly house, an intellectual man in a disordered society, or a man of high moral character in an environment in conflict with his inner ideals. Nor can I refrain from quoting here and substituting our word North Carolina for his word Irish, a further paragraph so applicable to our own conditions:

> We must go on imagining better than the best we know. Even in their ruins now, Greece and Italy seem noble and beautiful with broken pillars and temples made in the day of their glory. But before there was ever a white marble temple shining on a hill it shone with a more brilliant beauty in the mind of some artist who designed it. Do many people know how that marvelous Greek civilization spread along the shores of the Mediterranean? Little nations owning no more land than would make up a North Carolina county sent out colony after colony. The seed of beautiful life they sowed grew and blossomed out into great cities and half-divine civilizations. Italy had a later blossoming of beauty in the Middle Ages, and travelers today go into little Italian towns and find them filled with masterpieces of painting

and architecture and sculpture, witnesses of a time when nations no larger than a North Carolina county rolled their thoughts up to heaven and mixed their imagination with the angels.

One resplendent ideal we must at least set up; on one far-off divine event we must at least fix our gaze as the end of all our striving—remembering that though—

> The goal may ever shine afar,
> The will to win it makes us free—

and that sublime purpose, constant as the North Star in our heavens, must be to build here in North Carolina a civilization passionate with aspiration for all the noblest qualities that have found expression in the worthiest civilizations of the past—the beauty that was Greece, the majesty of the law made incarnate in Rome, the reverence and spiritual earnestness which distinguished the Hebrew people, the passion for liberty and democracy which has characterized our English ancestors and kinsfolk, the triumph of scientific efficiency of which Germany now furnishes an unforgettable demonstration.

This, then, is my appeal and summons to you, my fellow-workers for the greater North Carolina of tomorrow—to you who make her literature, whether as writers of books or as those unrecognized makers of literature who send out her dailies and weeklies from a hundred towns and hamlets; to you men of research who interpret the lessons of her history; to you teachers who have the instruction of her youth; to you men of the professions and of public station, who have the ear of her men and women—my appeal to you one and all is that you fail not to bring the vision of her potentialities before the sons and daughters of the State. In the language of that distinguished son of North Carolina who now represents this Nation at the Court of St. James, I would have us "look forward to a golden age that we may surely hasten, not backward to one that never was." I would have us believe with Shelley, that "the world's great age begins anew," that here and now a loftier Argo shall cleave the main, a brighter Hellas rear its mountains, while—

> Another Athens shall arise,
> And to remoter time
> Bequeath like sunset to the skies
> The splendor of its prime.

II. Faith in North Carolina's ability to achieve our ideal.

Only one thing, my friends, can hinder North Carolina on its march to such an imperial destiny, and that is the fault for which the Master of Life oftenest reproached men when He was on earth. That fault was lack of faith in God and lack of faith in themselves as heirs to an

Almighty Father's majesty and power; spiritual inertia. How tremendous and significant was His rebuke, "Had ye but faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye could remove mountains." We need some man to electrify North Carolina with that sublime confidence with which Kant incited Germany to high endeavor, and epitomized in the famous sentence, "Thou canst, for thou shalt." We need seers to look forward to North Carolina's future as Milton peered into England's future in the famous lines beginning: "Methinks that I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam."

In this spirit, for myself, I proclaim my North Carolina "Credo," and the reasons for the faith that is in me:

I believe in North Carolina, in her coming awakening, in the glory of her destiny; I believe that whatever of good or beauty or nobleness men in any other land or era have wrought, we, men and women, of North Carolina today and tomorrow, in the providence of God, may here and now achieve.

1. I believe this, first, because the history of other countries gives warrant for this high faith. In the language of another: "We have all that any people ever had to inspire them—the heavens above us, the generous earth beneath, and the breath of life in our nostrils." And though man, by taking thought cannot add a cubit to his physical stature, mere will has added incalculably to man's mental or moral stature, and civilizations have been built by the mere will to build them. Every one realizes that it was a group of enthusiastic leaders firing and moulding the national conscience and consciousness, who created modern Germany. "The national being," as has been said, "was enriched by a long succession of mighty thinkers. A great subjective life preceded a great objective manifestation of power and wealth." "To release from inertia and set in motion *moral power*"—that, says Kuno Francke of Harvard, was the purpose of the Stein-Hardenberg legislation; and he quotes Frederick William III., himself, as describing it as the effort of the State "to replace, by spiritual agencies, what it had lost in physical resources." However much we may differ as to the nobleness of the ideal, we may not doubt that it was by patient and never-ceasing insistence upon such an ideal that the German nation has been made what it is. And so today the visions of George W. Russell and Sir Horace Plunkett are slowly remaking Ireland, just as surely as the visions of Grundtvig remade Denmark, and the faith of Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi made modern Italy. And if it be asserted, as

I heard a man of national reputation recently remark in casual conversation, that North Carolina has been a commonplace State," if it be true that the State has not shone above her sisters in "the sudden making of splendid names," I answer again in the words of our Irish poet-philosopher:

> The most famous peoples have been obscure for centuries and without fame as our own people are, until somehow the keynote was struck which made them vibrate to one idea. For how many centuries were there herdsmen and rude rustics in ancient Greece before the dream came to animate the people? Out of what barbaric beginnings through unilluminated centuries came the magnificence of ancient Rome? If one little chemical is not added to the compound in the shell, it may be fired out of the cannon, but the shell will not burst. We want a national ideal mixed with our energies to set Ireland in a blaze.

2. In the second place, let me remind you that here in North Carolina we have not merely the advantages that all other men have in common with us, but we possess in unusual degree the physical and material basis for the building of a noble and opulent civilization. In point of total area North Carolina is greater than Greece or Scotland, with all their mighty contributions to history; greater than the combined kingdoms of Holland, Belgium and Denmark; greater even than imperial England itself with its thirty-four million souls, its earth-girdling realm and far-flung battle line. In agriculture, our resources are astounding; in manufactures our Piedmont country has advantages almost unrivaled; and while we lack mineral wealth, our almost matchless water-powers will be performing the herculean labors of an electric age long after the coal deposits of other States have been exhausted. Moreover, as official records show, Raleigh, Edenton, Charlotte, and Chapel Hill have the exact mean annual temperature of Rome; Greensboro and Weldon that of Florence; Wilmington is a degree cooler than Athens or Jerusalem, while Asheville's climate is practically that of London and Paris. Hence we have the same climate, we breathe the very airs, we are stimulated by the same tempered mingling of wind and storm and sun, in which men have not only wrought mightily in modern times, but in which in ancient days men in Greece and Rome and Palestine wrought out those civilizations which yet project themselves with imperial and compelling power into the lives of every Commonwealth and individual in Christendom—their poets, prophets and statesmen "the dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule us from their urns." There can be no doubt about it, that with such resources in such an environment—aided by that scientific husbandry and aggressive industrialism which has already superseded the primitive ways of our pioneer days—we shall have wealth in plenty to support a culture of

the highest type. Thomas Gray, two centuries ago, pointed out the two things which had hindered England's development—first, illiteracy, in that Knowledge, rich with the spoils of time, had never been made accessible to her plain people; second, poverty, in that—

> Chill penury repressed their noble rage
> And froze the genial current of the soul.

North Carolina is now escaping not only from the first of these handicaps, but from the second also. Nor should I fail to add that, by reason of our growing wealth, made possible by our vast resources, the need for growth in ideals is all the more insistent and imperative. In wealth lies at once our power and our peril, in that wealth, like food, when taken beyond the power of wholesome assimilation, becomes a source, not of health and power, but of disease and disaster. Without a capable and progessive people, therefore, increasing wealth might mean only an exchange of the wholesome virtues of industrious poverty for the decadent manners of the uncultured rich—the "pride, fullness of bread and abundance of idleness," which the Almighty of old denounced as the iniquity of Sodom.

3. My next reason for faith in the North Carolina of tomorrow, however, is the belief that we have a people who exemplifying the significant motto of the Commonwealth—*"Esse quam videri,"* "To be rather than to seem"—will be misled into no extravagance of show and appearance, into no temptation to slothful ease. We have a capable people of the same stock as those who have built great civilizations in the past, and yet unspoiled: courageous as they have ever been, "tender and open," as they were in the colonial days described by Bancroft, "disciplined in frugality and patient of toil." There are those who say the record of these people has been marked by extreme conservatism, by a slowness of movement which will prevent them from acquiring the best in modern government and society, but I do not so read their history. They have not been rash, but in all matters affecting human rights and human progress they have ever been progressive rather than backward. North Carolina was certainly not conservative in colonial days, when her demands for liberty and progressive legislation made the life of every British Governor a sort of continuous nightmare. She was not conservative in the days of the Regulators, the stamp tax, and the tea tax. She was not laggard of heart or hand in the days of the Mecklenburg and Halifax Resolves. She was, as Governor Baldwin of Connecticut has recently pointed out, the first State to put into her Constitution a provision for public education, the first to provide for the secret ballot, and the first to abandon annual for biennial elections. And while her people were slow to adopt the Constitution of the United

States, it was because they were so modern in their conceptions of democracy that they delayed entering the Union until persuaded that it would properly safeguard fundamental human rights. Says Governor Baldwin: "They endeavored to make, and did make, the new government more closely a government of the people, before accepting its authority." Then for fifty years prior to the Civil War, North Carolina's record in public education, internal improvements, the extension of suffrage, etc., marked it as perhaps the most progressive of all the States laboring under the handicap of slavery. And while she did not rush into secession it was because her people were unwilling rashly to jeopardize human rights and constitutional liberty in order to defend the property rights of her slave-holding class.

Moreover, the record of the State since the Civil War, had I time to enter into details—our patient rebuilding from the debris of war and reconstruction, our progress since that time in education, temperance, agricultural and industrial development, to say nothing of political upheavals daring to the point of radicalism in their willingness to risk change—would prove equally fatal to the contentions of those who would believe us too slow-moving to grasp opportunity or adapt ourselves to changing circumstance. The stagnation that has marked certain periods of our history, if I judge aright, has been due to the handicap of illiteracy rather than to inertia. In other words, I feel that the people in those periods failed to use their powers, not from willful slothfulness, but simply because those powers had not been set free by the liberating influences of education.

4. And this brings me to a consideration of one other historic trait of our North Carolina people which I regard as of the highest significance and highest promise. This is the fact that while the State has given the Nation and the world not one of "the few, the immortal, names that were not born to die," while she has produced no Washington or Jefferson or Lee or Calhoun, yet her plain man, her average citizen, the great masses of her people, have made a record which may indeed give us pride in her past and confidence in her future. In colonial days she had no individual Patrick Henry or Benjamin Franklin or Samuel Adams, but the plain, sturdy, homespun-clad people of Cape Fear Mecklenburg, Alamance, Guilford, Halifax, and Kings Mountain, while lacking celebrated leadership, yet gave an account of themselves which better guarantees our future than the achievement of any possible half-dozen individuals could have done. And again, it is our proud boast, that when civil war came the record of the State was distinguished, not for a few great leaders, but for the courage and enduring heroism of that host of plain North Carolina privates, who, going "with

songs to battle, straight of limb, true of eye, steady and aglow," furnished more men in killed and wounded than any other Southern State. It is not without significance that the only monument in Capitol Square erected in recognition of services in the Civil War (Vance's is there by reason of his services as statesman rather than as warrior), is in honor of a private soldier.

5. And here we find another, and probably the strongest of all, reasons for faith in the North Carolina of tomorrow: that not only has our common man achieved notably, but that our government and people have always had faith in the common man; have had an unquenchably democratic spirit. North Carolina before the Civil War was notably more democratic than our neighbor States—a fact emphasized by its leadership in public education, under Calvin H. Wiley, at a time when other Southern States were indifferent and a Governor of South Carolina was even urging the Legislature to make appropriations for the University at the expense of the common schools, declaring that "one sun is better than a million stars." We have had among us less of the spirit which divides men of the same race and blood into classes; we have had less of the spirit which in some sections has made the wealthier five per cent of the population, the men and women upon whom were imposed the sacred duties of privilege and leadership, draw about themselves the robes of a Pharisaical and supercilious self-satisfaction while they damned the other ninety-five per cent as hopeless "poor whites"—until from that contemned class itself, emigrant to the West, the Union drew its supreme leader and the flower of the army that crushed the army in which my father fought. It is the glory of North Carolina that she has recognized in increasing measure the fact that the most authentic and accurate index to the power and possibilities of every boy and girl is found, not in the achievements or non-achievements of two or three immediate ancestors, but is found rather in his or her racial heritage—that there beats with the blood of every child born of our race the spirit of the long, long centuries of toil and struggle, achievement, discipline, moral restraint and spiritual aspiration which make up the body of Caucasian civilization, so that in a very real sense all men and women of the same race, inheritors of the same racial history, traits and tendencies, are indeed "created equal." However dormant or repressed may have been the ability of the father, North Carolina looks with confidence to every child through whose veins courses the blood of the race that has produced heroes and martyrs and poets and sages, men of vision and daring and achievement, builders of civilization and of empire, and her people realize that no one knows when or where or in

whom the genius of that race may again "burst full-blossomed on the thorny stem of time."

For my own part, my friends, I am persuaded that with a stock so sturdy and capable, and with natural and social conditions so auspicious, such an ultimate flowering of the genius of our people is inevitable; that not only shall we develop a civilization whose average level will be high, but that even as one generation in Virginia produced a Washington, a Jefferson, a Marshall, a Madison, a Henry, and a Monroe, so there will arise from some generation of our own people a group of North Carolinians who will as greatly and yet more variously enrich the annals of our race.

III. The Mobilization of All the Forces Intent Upon the Ideal.

The one other thing that remains for me to say is that if we are to achieve our high ambition, there must be a mobilization of all the forces that make for progress in North Carolina—finding spokesmen in all who write and teach and speak and preach, and best of all, in those who organize the people into anything that unites them in quest of common aims, whether women's clubs, farmers' clubs, chambers of commerce, corn and canning clubs, civic leagues, or what not. Our writers and editors must become as men inspired with a new faith and a new vision; our schools must become indeed "centers of idealism," dynamos of patriotism and culture such as the revolution-working schools of Denmark have been; our churches must awaken to the Heaven-imposed duty not only of transforming the souls of men, but of making that transformation manifest here in the establishment of that Kingdom for whose coming we are taught ever to pray. We must inspire even the humblest worker with a faith in the future of his State; the humblest boy in patched trousers, the humblest girl in her gingham dress, must be caught up in the sweep of our master-purpose and made to feel that he or she has a part in its realization.

We must learn this lesson from war—that what glorifies it and relieves the hideousness of it is the fact that then the life of the commonest man is identified with that of the State, every humblest soldier feels that he is keeping step to the drum-beat of the progress of his race; and we must redeem our governments from their traditional commonplaceness in time of peace, in that they have not inspirited this common man, that they have not caught him up in the surge of human progess, that they have been content to narrow their functions to the protection of property and the preservation of peace and have not organized the tremendous energies of the Commonwealth for the achievement of great ideals! This is really our supreme task—to evoke in time of peace

that ardent love for the State, and for each county or community in which we dwell, which flames out so gloriously in the lowliest man in time of war. With such a spirit the North Carolina of our tomorrow, house by house, town by town, neighborhood by neighborhood, will clothe itself with myriad forms of intellectual and material beauty that will keep time with the blossoming of noble ideals in the minds of individual men and women.

You probably recall what was said of Henry W. Grady when he died, that he was "literally loving a nation into peace," and so our need in North Carolina, and in each town or county, is a man great enough of heart and soul to love it into new ideals of beauty, faith, and noble endeavor. It might be well said of each individual town and of each individual county in which you live, my friends, as Gilbert Chesterton said recently of his little English town of Pimlico:

> It is not enough for a man to disapprove of Pimlico; in that case he will merely cut his throat or move to Chelsea. Nor certainly is it enough for a man to approve of Pimlico; for then it will remain Pimlico, which would be awful. The only way out of it seems to be for somebody to love Pimlico—to love it with a transcendental power. If there arose a man who loved Pimlico, then Pimlico would rise into ivory towers and golden pinnacles. If men loved Pimlico as mothers love children, arbitrarily, because it is theirs, Pimlico in a year or two might be fairer than Florence.

And then Mr. Chesterton concludes with one memorable and meaningful sentence: "Men did not love Rome because she was great. She was great because they had loved her."

Even so men will not love the North Carolina of tomorrow because she is great. She will be great because her sons and daughters love and have loved her—and loving her give their lives to her enrichment through aid to all the inspiring movements of our teeming time and the betterment of the neighborhoods they dwell in.

In that glad day when such a spirit shall have been indeed engendered among all our people, you and I will no longer go about our unhallowed daily tasks without exaltation and without a sense of the nobleness and dignity of our existence and our labors. Rather, while we do the humblest work that shall make our community better and so make North Carolina better, while we cleave the prosaic stone or mix the unlovely mortar in the common round, we shall see with our mind's eye the glorious form and structure of the State that is to be, majestic as the columns of ancient Parthenon, beautiful as far-famed Taj Mahal with its matchless symmetry—the Commonwealth which the genius of our North Carolina people, under the guidance of God, shall yet evolve as the half-divine sum total of our individual labors.

Can Democracy Be Organized?

By Edwin A. Alderman.

The United States of America is one of the oldest governments on earth. England and Russia alone, among the nations of Europe, equal it in age, and even England has undergone such radical changes in the past century, as compared with the United States, as to constitute us, with our unchanged government since 1789, the most stable of modern nations. Our nearness to the perspective and our absorption in our own life have blinded us to the inspiring national panorama, as it has unfolded itself before the world. First, a group of rustic communities, making common cause in behalf of ancient guarantees of English freedom; then suspicious colonies, unused to the ways of democracies, striving after some bond amid the clash of jealous interests; then a wonderful paper-writing, compact of high sense and human foresight and tragic compromise; then a young Republic, lacking the instinct of unity, but virile, unlovely, raw, wayward, in its confident young strength. Some confused decades of sad, earnest effort to pluck out an evil growth planted in its life by the hard necessities of compromise by the fathers, but which needs must blossom into the flower of civil war before it could be plucked out and thrown to the void. Then young manhood, nursing its youth, whole and undivisible, proven by trial of fire and dark days, opening its eye upon a new world of steam and force, and seizing greedily and selfishly every coin of vantage; and today the most venerable Republic, the richest of nations, the champion and exemplar of World Democracy.

No nation, I venture to assert, was ever born grounded on so definite and fixed principle and with so conscious a purpose. Such a wealth of hope for humanity never before gathered about a mere political experiment, and such a mass of pure idealism never before suffused itself into the frame-work of a State. How can such a nation so begun, so advanced, so beset, be so guided, that all of its citizens shall indeed become free men, entering continually into the possession of intellectual, material and moral benefits? How can a people devoted to individualism and freedom retain that individualism which guarantees freedom and yet engraft upon their social order that genius for coöperation which alone insures power and progress? These are the final interrogatories of democracy as a sane vision glimpses it, robbed of its earlier illusions. The fathers of this Republic did not understand the present mould of democracy. The very word was obnoxious to them. Their ideal was

a State, the citizens of which chose their leaders and then trusted them. They did not foresee the socialized State. They did not envisage a minute and paternal organization of society which may be achieved alike by Prussian absolutism or mere socialism, which is chronologically, if not logically, the child of democracy. The fear that tugged at their hearts was the fear of tyranny, the dread of Kings, the denial of self-direction, which prevented a man from speaking his opinion or going his way as he willed. Their democracy was a working government which should give effect to the will of the people and at the same time provide sufficient safeguard for individual liberty. The emphasis of the time was everywhere upon the rights of the individual, rather more than upon the duties of the citizen. When their theories, as Mr. Hadley points out, seemed likely to secure this result, the fathers published them boldly; when they seemed likely to interfere, they ignored them. The creed, then which had a religious sanction in an age of moral imagination to men of superb human enthusiasm like Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Adams, was the belief that democracy, considered as individual freedom, was the final form of human society. It is idle to deny that a century of trial has somewhat dulled the halo about this ancient concept of democracy, but in my judgment only to men of little faith. It is quite true that our democracy of today is not what Rousseau thought it would be, nor Lord Byron, nor Shelley, nor Karl Marx. But as we meditate about it and conclude that it has not realized all of its hopes, we ought to try to settle first what it has done and then place that to its credit. Here are some things that I think democracy has done, or helped to do. It has abated sectarian fury. Sectarian fury is ridiculous in this age; it was not always so. It has abolished slavery. It has protected and enlarged manhood suffrage and has gone far towards womanhood suffrage. It has mitigated much social injustice. It has developed a touching and almost sublime faith in the power of education, illustrating it by expending six hundred million dollars a year in the most daring thing that democracy has ever tried to do; namely, to fit for citizenship every human being born within its borders. It has increased kindness and gentleness, and thus diminished the fury of partisanship. It has preserved the form of the Union through the storm of a civil war, and yet has had power to touch with healing unity and forgiveness its passions and tragedies. It has conquered and civilized a vast continent. It has developed great agencies of culture and has somehow made itself a symbol of individual prosperity. It has developed a common consciousness and a volunteer statesmanship among its free citizens as manifested more strikingly than elsewhere in the world in great educational, religious, scientific

and philanthropic societies, which profoundly influence and mould society. Out of what other state could have issued as a volunteer movement so efficient an agency as the Commission for the Relief of Belgium or the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission? It has permitted and fostered the growth of a public press of gigantic power reflecting the crudities and impulses of a vast and varied population, but charged with a fierce idealism and staunch patriotism that have almost given it a place among the coördinate branches of our organized government. It has stimulated inventive genius and business enterprise to a point never before reached in human annals. It has brought to American-mindedness millions of men of all races, creeds and ideals. I do not, therefore, think that democracy as it has evolved among us has failed. What autocracy on earth has done as much? It has justified itself of the sufferings and sacrifies and the dreams of the men who established it in this new land. But it has also, without doubt, by the very trust that it places in men, developed new shapes of temptations and wrong-doing. Democracy, like a man's character, is never clear out of danger. The moral life of men, said Froude, is like the flight of a bird in the air; he is sustained only by effort, and when he ceases to exert himself he falls. And the same, it seems to me, is impressively true of institutional and governmental life.

Patriotism—which is hard to define and new with every age, and public spirit, which is hard to define and new with every age—must constantly redefine themselves. Patriotism meant manhood's rights when Washington took it to his heart. It somehow spelled culture, refinement and distinction of mind when Emerson in his Phi Beta Kappa address besought the sluggish intellect of his country to look up from under its iron lids. It signified national ideals and theories of government to the soldiers of Lee and to the soldiers of Grant. It meant industrial greatness and a splendid desire to annex nature to man's uses when the great business leaders of this generation and of the last generation built up their great businesses and tied the Union together in a unity of steel and steam more completely than all the wars could do, and did it with a patriotism and a statesmanship and an imagination that no man can deny. The honest business man needs somebody to praise him. He has done a great service in this country, and when he is steady and honest there is no greater force in all our life. A decade ago patriotism in America meant a reaction from an unsocial, unselfish individualism to restraint and consideration for the general welfare, expresing itself in a cry for moderation and fairness and justice and sympathy in the use of power and wealth as the states of spirit and mind, that alone can safeguard republican ideals. The emphasis, as I have said, was

formerly on the rights of man; it is getting to be placed, as Mazzini preached, upon the duties of man. If in our youth and feverish strength there had grown up a spirit of avarice and a desire for quick wealth, and a theory of life in lesser minds that estimated money as everything and was willing to do anything for money, that very fact served to define the patriotic duty and mood of the national mind. This reawakened patriotism of the common good had the advantage of appeal to a sound, public conscience, and of being supported by a valid public opinion. The part that vulgar cunning has played in creating great fortunes has been made known to this democracy and they are coming to know the genuine from the spurious, and some who were once looked at with admiration and approval as great ones, are not now seen in that light.

This very growth in discernment gave us power to see in a nobler and truer light, for the people of America, the names of those upright souls in business and in politics—and there are many noble men in business and politics—who have held true in a heady time and who have kept clean and kept human their public sympathies and their republican ideals and by so doing have kept sweet their country's fame. Democracy simply had met and outfaced one of the million moral crises that are likely to assail free government, and I believe that it is cleaner today in ruling passion, in motive, and in practice than it has been in fifty years.

It is now clear to all minds that the movement of our business operations in this Republic, unregulated and proceeding along individualistic lines, had come perilously near to developing a scheme of monopoly and a union of our political machinery with the forces of private gain that might easily have transformed our democracy into some ugly form of tyranny and injustice. We have halted this tendency somewhat tardily, but resolutely, and the nerves of the nation were somewhat shaken by the very thought of what might have been, very much as a man gazes with gratitude and yet with fear upon a hidden precipice over which his pathway led. We had been saying over and over to ourselves with fierce determination that this nation should remain democratic, and should not become plutocratic or autocratic or socialistic; and we should find the way to guarantee this. All about us were heard the voices of those who thought they saw the way and who were beckoning men to follow, but new dangers faced us, however, even as we left the ancient highway and attempted to cut new paths, for in endeavoring to make it possible for democracy, as we understood it, and a vast industrialism, as we had developed it, to live together justly under the same political roof, we had plainly come to a point where there was danger of our gov-

ernment developing into a system of state socialism in conflict with our deepest traditions and convictions. The leadership of the future, therefore, would have a triple problem—to protect the people against privilege, to raise the levels of democratic living, and to preserve for the people the ancient guarantees and inestimable advantages of representative government and individual initiative.

You will observe that I have thus far spoken as a citizen preoccupied with the thoughts of that ancient world which ended on August 1, 1914, and I had not permitted myself to align and examine in full the perils and weaknesses of democratic society as they had manifested themselves under conditions of peace and apparent prosperity. These weaknesses had already begun under the strain of ordinary industrial life, to reveal themselves under five general aspects, each aspect being in essence a sort of revulsion or excess of feeling from what were considered definite political virtues.

1. A contempt of obedience as a virtue too closely allied to servility.
2. A disregard of discipline as smacking too much of docility.
3. An impatience with trained technical skill as seeming to affirm that one man is not as good as another.
4. A failure to understand the value of the common man as a moral and political asset and an inability to coördinate education to daily life as a means of forwarding national ends and ideals.
5. A crass individualism which exalted self and its rights above society and the solemn social obligation to coöperate for the common good.

The theory of democracy which alone among great human movements had known no setback for a century of time, was fast becoming self-critical and disposed to self-analysis and especially in America, these fundamental weaknesses were being assailed in practical forms. The liberal or progressive movement in our politics was striking at the theory of crass individualism and after the unbalanced fashion of social reform was moving toward pure democracy or state socialism in the interest of communal welfare. Our old original, intense American individualism, shamed by its ill-governed cities and lack of concern for popular welfare, had passed forever. Socialism, considered as a paternal form of government, exercising strict regulation over men's lives and destroying individual energy and initiative, was still feared and resisted; but the social goal of democracy was becoming, even by the most conservative, to be considered the advancement and improvement of society by a protection of life and health, by a reformation of educational methods and by a large amount of governmental control of fundamentals for the com-

mon good. A multitude of laws, ranging from laws governing milk for babies, to public parks and free dispensaries and vast corporations attested the vigor of this new attitude. And strange to say this new spirit was not wholly self-begotten. Plutocracy, with its common sense, its economies and hatred of waste, its organization and its energy, had taught us much. We, too, had caught a spirit from what we used to call effete Europe. Australia taught us how to vote; Belgium, Germany and England that there was a democracy adapted to city and factory as well as to the farm and country-side.

The forces of education were pleading the cause of team work in modern life, scientifically directed, not by amateurs and demagogues, but by experts and scientists, whether in city government or public hygiene or scientific land culture, while seriousness and self-restraint were everywhere the themes of public teachers, pleading for order and organization as an ideal of public welfare, nearly as vital as liberty and self-direction. And then, without warning, fell out this great upheaval of the world, so vast, so fundamental, despite its sordid and stupid beginnings, that the dullest among us must dimly realize that a new epoch has registered itself in human affairs. War is a great pitiless flame. It sweeps its fiery torch along the ways of men, destroying but renovating, killing but quickening, and even amid its horrors of corruption and death, leaving white ashes cleanly and fertile. War is also a ghastly mirror in which actualities and ideals and tendencies reflect themselves in awful vividness. Who caused this war, who will be aggrandized by this war—its triumphs and humiliations—are important and moving, but not vital questions. The fundamental question is what effect will its reactions have upon that movement of the human spirit called democracy, begun so simply, advanced so steadfastly, yesterday acclaimed as the highest development of human polity, but today already being sneered at and snarled at by a host of enemies. Will war, the harshest of human facts, destroy, weaken, modify, or strengthen essential democracy? It is my conviction that the Allies in this struggle are fighting for democracy—at least for the brand of democracy with which my spirit is familiar and which my soul has learned to love. Once more in the great human story, the choice is being made between contrasting civilizations, between ideals and institutions, between liberty and the lesser life. Every drop of my blood leaps to sympathy with those peoples who, heedless of inexorable efficiency dream a mightier dream of an order directed by justice, invigorated by freedom, instinct with the higher happiness of individual liberty, self-directed to reason and coöperation. "For what avail the plough or sail, or land or life if freedom fail?" The very weaknesses of democratic government under the

crucial test of war appeal to me. The tutelage of democracy breeds love of justice, the methods of persuasion and debate, and a conception of life which makes it sweet to live and in a way destroys the temperament for war, until horror and wrong and reversion to type create anew the savage impulse. Whatever way victory falls, democracy is destined to stand its trial, and to be submitted to a merciless cross-examination by the mind and spirit of man. It may and will yield up some of its aspirations; it will seize and adapt some of the weapons of its foes; it may relinquish some of its ancient theories and methods; it will shed some of its hampering weaknesses; but it will still remain democracy, and it is the King, the autocrat, and the mechanical state which will suffer in the end rather than the common man who, in sublime loyalty to race and flag, is now reddening the soil of Europe with his blood, or the great principle which has fascinated every generous thinking soul since freedom became the heritage of man.

The Germans are a mighty race, fecund in physical force and organizing genius. Like the French of 1789, they are now more possessed with a group of passionate creative impulses than any other nation. This grandiose idealism, for such it is, seems to me reactionary, but it is held with a sort of thrilling devotion and executed with undoubted genius. Nineteen hundred and fourteen is for the Prussians a sort of Prussian Elizabethan age, in which vast dreams and ideas glow in the hearts and minds of Teutonic Raleighs, Drakes, and Grenvilles, ready to die for them. The ideal of organization, the though of a great whole uniting its members for effective work in building a powerful state, and the welding of a monstrous federal union of nations akin in interests and civilizations possess the Germanic mind. For the German the individual exists for the state, and his concept of the state is far more beautiful and spiritual than we Americans generally imagine. The state is to be the resultant of the best thought and efforts of all its units. They have a glorious concept of communal welfare, but to them parliamentarism is frankly a disease and suffrage a menace. To them, and I am quoting a notable German scholar, "democracy is a thing, infirm of purpose, jealous, timid, changeable, unthorough, without foresight, blundering along in an age of lucidity guided by confused instincts." On the whole Germany is probably better governed in external forms than the United States or England. The material conditions of her people are better, her cities cleaner, her economies finer, her social life better administered and her power to achieve amazing results under the fiercest of tests nearly marvelous. The world cannot and probably will not reject as vile all this German scholarship concentration and scientific power. The world may either slavishly imitate Germany, or wisely modify or set

up a contrary system overtopping the German ideal in definite accomplishment, according to the inclination of the scales of victory. The fatality of the German nation is that it does not behold the world as it is. It beholds its ideals and is logic-driven to their achievement. It has gone from the sand wastes of Brandenburg to world power by force and the will to do, and by force and will it seeks its will and hacks its way through. It is enslaved by the majesty of plan and precision—the power of concert. Napoleon, "that ablest of historic men," as Lord Acton called him, tried all this once and failed. But here it all is again, with its weapons of flame and force. Germany, apparently, does not understand the fair doctrine of live and let live. Pride sustains its soul, and ambition directs its energy. In spite of all these concrete achievements Germany does not seem to me a progressive nation, but rather a Giant of Reaction—a sort of mixture, as some one has called it, of Ancient Sparta and Modern Science. And it is well to hold in mind that this mass-efficiency is brought to pass by subjecting even in the minutest particulars the individual to the supreme authority of the state. This subjection is scientific, well-meant, but very minute.

The flaw of democracy is that it does understand and sympathize with the soul of man, but is so sympathetic with his yearning for free self-government and self-direction, so opposed to force as a moulding agent, so jealous of initiative, that it has not yet found the binding thread of social organization by which self-government and good government become one and the same thing. Let us confess that *"Les moeurs de la liberté!"* cannot be the manners of absolutism. Debate, political agitation, bold, popular expression, are not the methods of smooth precision and relentless order. Napoleon revealed to the world the democratic passion and passed off the stage. Perhaps it is the destiny of the Prussian to teach us administration and order and to put us in the way of finding and achieving it without sacrificing our liberties, and then he, too, will pass.

To work out a free democratic, socialized life, wherein the individual is not lost in a metaphysical super-state, nor sunk in inaction and selfishness, by inducing desire for such life, by applying trained intelligence to its achievement, and by subjecting ourselves to the tests and disciplines that will bring it to pass. That is the task of American Democracy and indeed of a fuller, deeper world-wide democracy. The center of gravity of the autocratic state is in the State itself, and in such ideals as self-anointed leaders suggest. The effect of the democracy has been to shift the center of gravity too much to the individual self and his immediate welfare.

There must be a golden mean somewhere and we must find it. When the great readjustment dawns, when the gaping wounds of war have healed, all the world will be seeking this golden mean. The social democrat of Germany, who is silent now in his splendid national devotion, will be seeking it; the Russian peasant, inarticulate, mystic, reflective; the Frenchman with his clear brain and forward-looking soul; the Englishman wrapped in his great tradition. Perhaps in our untouched and undreamed vigor, we shall become the champions of the great quest.

There would be fitness in such a result. Here continental democracy was born; here it has grown great upon an incomparable soil and with enormous waste. Let us prepare for our colossal moral and practical responsibilities in the world life, therefore, not alone by preparing common sense establishments of force on land and sea, until such time as human reason shall deem them not needed, but by the greater preparedness of self-restraint, self-analysis, and self-discipline. Let us not surrender our age-long dream of good, just self-government to any mechanical ideal of quickly obtaining material results erected into a crude dogma of efficiency. Democracy must know how to get material results economically and quickly. Democracy must and can be organized to that end, and this organization will undoubtedly involve certain surrenders, certain social and political self-abnegations in the interests of collectivism. But I hold the faith that all this can be done yet, retaining in the family of freedom that shining jewel of individual liberty which has glowed in our life since the beginning. The great democratic nations—America, England, France, Switzerland—have before them, therefore, the problem of retaining their standards of individual liberty, and yet contriving juster and finer administrative organs. Certainly the people that have built this Union can learn how to coördinate the activities of its people and obtain results as definite as those obtained under systems of mere authority.

Since my college days I have been hearing about and admiring the German genius for research, for adaptation of scientific truth and for organization. Now the whole world stands half astonished and half envious of their creed of efficiency. In so far as this creed is opposed to slipshodness and waste, it is altogether good, but the question arises, is the ability to get things done well deadly to liberty, or is it consistent with personal liberty? In examining German progress, I do not find as many examples of supreme individual efficiency or independent spirit as I find in the democratic nations. The steam engine, the factory system, telegraph, telephone, wireless, electric light, the gasoline engine, aeroplane, machine gun, the submarine, uses of rubber, dreadnaught, the mighty names of Lister and Pasteur, come out of the democratic

nations. The distinctive German genius is for administration and adaptation, rather than for independent creation. His civil service is the finest in the world. He knows what he wants. He decides what training is necessary to get that result. He universalizes that training. He enforces obedience to its discipline. A man must have skill; he must obey; he must work; he must coöperate. The freer nations desire the same results, but neglect to enforce their realization. Their theory of government forces them to plead for its attainment. Certain classes and individuals heed this persuasion, and in an atmosphere of precious freedom great personalities spring into being. In the conflict between achievement based on subjection and splendid obedience, and that based on political freedom, my belief is that the system of political and social freedom will triumphantly endure. In essence, it is the conflict between the efficiency of adaptation and organization and the efficiency of invention and creation. What autocracy needs is the thrill and push of individual liberty and the continental peasant will get it as the result of this war, for the guns of autocracy are celebrating the downfall of autocoracy, even in its most ancient fastness—Russia. These autocracies will realize their real greatness when they substitute humility for pride, freedom for accomplishment, as compelling national motives. What democracy needs is the discipline of patient labor, of trained skill, of thoroughness in work, and a more socialized conception of public duty. As President Eliot has pointed out, the German theory of social organization is very young, and her literature, philosophy and are fairly new. It is a bit premature to concede the supreme validity of her Kultur and of her political organization until she can point to such names as Dante and Angelo, Shakespeare and Milton, Newton and Darwin and Pasteur, and until such names appear in her political history as Washington and Jefferson and Burke. This is not meant to deny the surpassing greatness of her music and her philosphy, nor to minimize the glory of her Goethes or Schillers or Lessings or Steins, but to suggest that she has not yet reached the superlative. It is not yet quite sure that with all their genius for organization and efficiency, they may not be self-directed to ruin. Certainly the German has as much to learn from the freer nations as we have to learn from the Teutonic genius. Switzerland has organized her democracy and kept her personal liberty, and there is no finer spectacle on earth today than the spectacle of France, seed-sowing, torch-bearing France; France, that has touched the heights and sounded the depths of human experience and national tragedy; *"La belle France,"* that has substitued duty for glory as a national motive, and has kept her soul free in the valley of humiliation; grim, patient, silent, far-seeing France, clinging to her republican

ideals and reorganizing her life from hovel to palace in the very impact of conflict and death, so that it is enabled to present to the world the finest example of organized efficiency and military glory that the world has seen in some generations. In order to organize an autocracy, the Rulers ordain that it shall get in order and provide the means to bring about that end. To organize a democracy, we must organize its soul, and give it power to create its own ideals. It is primarily a peace organization, and that is proof that it is the forward movement of the human soul and not the movement of scientific reaction. It is through a severe mental training in our schools and a return to the conception of public duty which guided the sword and uplifted the heart of the Founder of the Republic that we shall find strength to organize the democracy of the future, revolutionized by science and by urban life. The right to vote implies the duty to vote right; the right to legislate, the duty to legislate justly; the right to judge about foreign policy, the duty to fight if necessary; the right to come to college, the duty to carry one's self handsomely at college. Our youth must be taught to use their senses, to reason simply and correctly from exact knowledge thus brought to them to attain to sincerity in thought and judgment through work and patience. In our home and civic life, we need some moral equivalent for the training which somehow issues out of war—the glory of self-sacrifice, obedience to just authority, contempt of ease, and a realization that through thoughtful, collective effort great results will obtain. A great spiritual glory will come to these European nations through their sorrow and striving, which will express itself in great poems and great literature. They are preparing new shrines at which mankind will worship. Let us take care that prosperity is not our sole national endowment. War asks of men self-denials and sacrifice for ideals. Peace must somehow do the same. Autocracy orders men to forget self for an over-self called the state. Democracy must inspire men to forget self for a still higher thing called humanity.

There stands upon the steps of the Sub-Treasury building, in Wall Street, the bronze figure of an old Virginia country gentleman looking out with his honest eyes upon that sea of hurrying, gain-getting men. This statue is a remarkable allegory, for in his brave, thoughtful person, Washington embodies that form of public spirit, that balance of character, that union of force and justice that redefines democracy. Out of his lips seems to issue the great creed which is the core of democratic society, and around which this finer organization shall be solidly built. Power rests on fitness to rule. Fitness to rule rests on trained minds and spirits. You can trust men if you will train them. The object of power is the public good. The ultimate judgment of mankind in the mass is a fairly good judgment.

Social and Economic Legislation in North Carolina During the Civil War

BY E. W. SIKES.

The conduct of a great war requires more than military skill. Once the mighty chieftain alone was essential, but today the strong arm of the military leader may be paralyzed by the policy of the Legislature. The efficiency of an army in modern times depends on equipment and supplies. As Lloyd George declared to the Welsh strikers, "the contest in Europe is, in the last analysis, a struggle between the workmen of the Nations, the efficiency of the mechanics of the allies is pitted against those of Central Europe."

The legislation of the Confederacy naturally falls into two parts. The first part concerns the legislation by the Confederate Congress. With that phase of it this paper has nothing to do. The second part concerns itself with State legislation, which divides itself into the general laws which concern the whole State and the local laws which concern the counties and towns. This paper, however, is limited to the acts of the General Assembly and the Convention.

The forces that took charge of the American Revolution and the French Revolution met in Provincial and Continental Congresses and Conventions, and so did North Carolina in the Civil War. When the General Assembly saw that the hour had come to act, when the tide could no longer be stemmed, it authorized the meeting of a Convention, which met in Raleigh, May 20, 1861, and is popularly known as the "Secession Convention." The Convention Bill gave this body the power to make both constitutional and statutory laws. In this respect North Carolina realized the desperateness of the struggle and did not hesitate to concentrate power in the hands of a few. This Convention was composed of able men, representing the best in the State. Out of the one hundred and forty-seven men, sixty-seven had attended college.

The first act of this Convention was to adopt the ordinance of Secession. Then it began to prepare North Carolina, not for the impending crisis, but for the conflict that was at hand. This body remained in existence from May 20, 1861, to May 13, 1862. It held four sessions of about one month each. This Convention claimed and exercised authority over the General Assembly, changed its time of meeting and declared what Convention laws it could not repeal. During the recesses of the Convention the General Assembly would convene in extra session. This body felt hampered by the existence of a body superior to it. The

Convention grew unpopular, for it was felt that it had served its purpose in passing the ordinance of Secession, and that it now "lagged superfluous on the stage." Then, too, the "original secession" element that controlled the Convention in the beginning had lost control of it. The result of it was that the economic and social legislation of 1861 and 1862 is enacted in part by the General Assembly and in part by the Convention.

FINANCING THE WAR.

After secession the first task that confronted the legislature was the financing of the military establishment.

In May, 1861, it was estimated that it would cost to equip the present number of troops $6,625,000 per annum, but that the Confederacy would pay part of it, leaving as North Carolina's share $3,920,000. To meet these expenses $3,200,000 was appropriated. The total State tax at this time $712,977.12. This $3,200,000 was not to be raised by taxation, but otherwise. The Treasurer was authorized to borrow not over $3,000,000, on 6 per cent bonds, payable in 12 months, also the Treasurer was authorized to issue $200,000 of notes to circulate as money in 10 cent, 25 cent, and 50-cent denominations.

This was the first example of the State's war financing. Hopes were high, metallic money was scarce, but bonds and paper could easily be printed. This was an example of Confederate finance, but it was following in the footsteps of the Revolutionary fathers, who issued the notorious Continental money.

Each year the State increased its issues of the easily secured paper money. These State notes, like the Confederacy, were based on faith—especially the faith that is the "substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things unseen."

This was in May, 1861. In December, 1861, the Convention, in order to provide for the expenses of the ensuing year, 1862, authorized the Treasurer to issue $3,000,000 more of circulating notes, exchangable for 6 per cent 30-year bonds. These notes were hoarded. Confederate currency had come into the State and the people felt intuitively that though the Confederacy might fail the State would remain, therefore State money was more desirable than Confederate money.

In February, 1862, the Convention assumed the obligation of the State to pay into the Treasury of the Southern Confederacy its share of the Confederate tax of 50 cents on each $100 worth of property. Treasury notes were again issued.

Before adjourning, the Convention, fearing lest there might be some scarcity of the circulating medium in small change, ordered the issue of an extra $2,500,000 in small denominations. Then fearing that this

might not be enough, before final adjournment, the Treasurer was authorized to issue another $2,000,000.

So this Convention, in one year, ordered the issue of more than $10,000,000 of bonds and circulating notes, thus leaving a nice little State debt on September 30, 1862, of $14,812,005.

This is enough to show the financial policy of these years. Little use was made of taxation. Today England sells bonds, but she also levies taxes. The Southern Confederacy and North Carolina learned this lesson, but only after it was too late. Secretary Memminger, the Treasurer of the Southern Confederacy, advocated taxes only in a small degree, but the Confederacy did not tax so much even as he proposed. His successor, Trenholm, realized it, but only when it was too late.

The North Carolina Treasurer realized it in November, 1864, when he declared in his report that the "only way to sustain the currency was by taxation."

This method of financing continued till in November, 1864, the State was in debt $27,577,945.20, but by this time both the State and the Confederate financial policy was ship-wrecked—a $100 State bond was worth just $7.40, while a $100 Confederate bond was worth just $4.

SOLDIERS' FAMILIES.

But the State was not unmindful of the widow and the orphan, for there were many of them. There was probably little agitation on this subject for a year after the war began. In 1861 there were men enough at home to care for the families without public aid. Crops had been planted before the war began. The legislation of that period contented itself with decreeing that the widow should be entitled to the arrearage of the soldiers' pay. The year 1862 saw many of the men go to the front. The fierce fighting and the heavy losses in 1862 made the problem at home very serious. When the Legislature met, one of its tasks was to care for the widows. In February, 1863, $1,000,000 was appropriated from the Treasury for this purpose. It was to be distributed through the counties. In December of the same year another $1,000,000 was ordered, and $3,000 for the Indian families of the warriors who had protected the western portion of the State. In May, 1864, another million was ordered to be paid to the widows in Treasury notes, and $7,000 for the families of the Indian warriors.

In Vance's last message he recommended an appropriation of $2,000,000 more and urged that the State must care for the widow. As far as the Legislature could care for the widow by making appropriations it did it. Then the counties, New Hanover, for example, were given the power to issue bonds for the sake of the widows.

It was easy to vote bonds and appropriate monies, but by the close of 1864 it took many bonds to care for a family. But despite millions for soldiers' widows, there was distress. That was ameliorated by the women's efforts and by the slaves. While not forgetting the heroism of the women of the Confederacy let us remember that it was the faithful, the loyal slave at home who was the most important factor in the State's economic life. Had it not been for them, the suffering at home would have compelled the return of the men. When truth shall be chiseled into marble, by the side of the woman of the Confederacy will stand her faithful slave. The military strength is no stronger than the strength at home. Slave labor was the big factor at home. How much of the ability to face a powerful foe for four years was due to the social efficiency of the slave system! Arnold Bennett says England needs no conscription, that she now has in the field all she can maintain.

SALT.

The State early realized that salt was very necessary to the success of the troops. The food supply—meat—depended on the supply of salt. The Convention took the matter up at once. In December, 1861, Dr. J. M. Worth was elected Salt Commissioner, and $100,000 appropriated for that purpose. It was felt that 500,000 bushels would be needed.

Dr. Emmons, the State Geologist, reported that salt could be made on the sea coast. The making of it was begun there.

The Convention also appropriated $35,000 and appointed Woodfin to make salt at Saltville, Va., where there was said to be a salt sea under ground. This salt was to be distributed to the counties, where the justices of the peace regulated its distribution, and it was not to be sold for more than cost; to sell it for a profit was criminal. Ex-Governor Graham proposed that a bounty of $1.00 a bushel be paid, and that thus the manufacturer of salt should remain a private enterprise, but this the Convention would not do.

The Salt Commissioner in the State was given power to condemn lands and fuel, to employ free negroes and, if necessary, to impress them. All salt employees were free from military duty. A Quaker was not required to fight, but he might be required to make salt or to work in a hospital.

Woodfin in Virginia reported in November, 1862, that he had erected furnaces and kettles, had employed slaves from Warren County at $20 per month, and that his greatest difficulty was to get food supplies. To meet these needs he agreed to refill sacks of grain with salt. So the grain supply was met. To get his beef, he sent to the mountains and drove down a herd of cattle. The hides were tanned by Rankin, Gaines

& Company of Asheville for half the leather. From Nash, Johnston, Wayne and Pitt he got bacon in exchange for salt; from Randolph County he secured 4,500 yards ozanburg to make clothes for the slaves and salt bags in exchange for salt, from Lenoir 37,000 pounds of kettle. In November he wrote that 100,000 bushels would be needed to save the pork crop, and that he expected to make that much during the winter. He urged upon the pork makers to kill in installments—December, January, February—so that he might keep them in salt. The Sunday problem confronted him, but he decided that it was necessary to keep his furnaces and kettles going on Sunday. He estimated that it was costing about 50 cents a bushel. Various states bought salt at this place, but North Carolina was the only State that owned and managed its salt concern.

The great trouble was distribution. Some counties allowed the waggoners one-half for hauling, and thus appeared, even in the salt-making, the head of the ubiquitous speculator.

Woodfin wished to repay the Treasury by setting aside 25 cents on every bushel as a sinking fund. As late as the end of 1864 Woodfin was still making salt at Saltville. D. G. Worth had charge of the works at Wilmington. He produced from April 22, 1863 to 1864, 62,000 bushels. While the price in Wilmington was $19 a bushel the State was making it at $7.75.

The works at Wilmington were claimed by Gen. Whiting to interfere with military matters. One evening the Federals captured 47 of Worth's salt workers. Worth was equipped in 1864 with 52 mules and 5,000 pounds of bacon, but in February he was ordered to remove from Wilmington. The *Standard* in March, 1862, had said, "The greatest difficulty in the way of the South in the present struggle is the want of salt. We can do without many things but salt is a vital article." So vital was it that a Raleigh merchant at one time was asking $100 per bushel, but Col. T. G. Whitaker, the salt agent for Wake, had ordered 6,000 bushels which he sold for $2.50 per bushel.

The State early realized this necessity for salt and did not dally, but kept up the making of salt and its delivery to the counties all during the war. It was not the salt, but the pork that the salt would save that was wanted. There were some attempts made at salt making by private concerns. In 1862 a charter was granted to the Chatham Salt Mining and Manufacturing Company. Various devices were used by families to make salt, but these efforts have nothing to do with State legislation.

LIQUOR.

A tax of 30 cents a gallon was placed on all liquors made of grain. This law was to continue till April, 1862, when all distillation from

grain was forbidden. Brandies are not mentioned. A $1 tax was placed on all liquors made outside of the State and imported. This was no triumph for the prohibitionists. The motive behind this legislation was the preservation of the grain for the food supply.

In December, 1862, the Governor was authorized to appoint a commissioner to buy up food and provisions and to sell first to the families of soldiers and then forward to the army; $500,000 was appropriated for this purpose. To buy food ostensibly for the army, the State, or the Confederacy, when, in fact, it was for the purpose of speculation, was made a criminal offense with six months in prison or a $500 fine.

ENGROSSING.

As in every country that is steeped in woe there are those who fatten on her distress, so in North Carolina, while many of her sons were preparing to give up their lives in the field, there were others at home who were trying to make gain out of their suffering. He was the forestaller or engrosser. It was, therefore, made unlawful to buy foodstuffs and hold for unreasonable profits; the forestaller was defined as "one who buys to keep the product off the market"; the unlawful conspirator is "one who enters into an agreement in regard to the sale." Trading with the enemy was forbidden in 1861, and the penalty was $2,000 fine or six months imprisonment. Both sides legislated on this subject, but when the lines were close together the trading proceeded all the same.

RAILROADS.

Railroads were chartered for various parts of the State. Most of these had already been chartered, and the legislation was simply amendatory. The State wanted a railway from the coal fields in Chatham to the North Carolina Railway. Another road was wanted from Cheraw to these same fields.

Another road was to go from Fayetteville to Florence; another was to connect the Western North Carolina road with the iron and salt region of Virginia.

Many manufacturing companies were organized such as the Lockville Company and the Fayetteville Kerosene Company. These enterprises were too imposing for the conditions of that time, but the State did undertake to solve the problem of clothing, by encouraging the manufacture of woolen and cotton goods. There were willing hands in the South, for they were those of mothers, sisters, or faithful slaves, who would card and spin through the long, lonely evenings, if they only had the cards. The Legislature agreed to make a 6 per cent loan to any person who would manufacture them, but would not loan more than

$10,000. The best aid in this direction came from the successful blockaders who represented the State and brought in 55,000 pairs of cards.

BLOCKADING.

Of all the social legislation of the period the most effective was the appointment of the Governor himself to be the chief of those sturdy seamen who ran the blockade. Vance held in tenderest regard this phase of State work, and he was wise in it. A million bonds issued to the soldiers' widows, or an extra million of Treasury notes, fed none of the hungry, produced not a bushel of wheat or corn, nor made a blanket or pair of shoes, but every blockade runner brought some material comfort. Germany has her great chest of gold, but it is not gold that Germany wants; it is food and ammunition. Vance's blockaders were the foreign traders of North Carolina. His most noble cruiser, the Ad-Vance, was worth more than all the other cruisers of the Confederacy combined.

In his report of 1864-1865 he says that he has sold 55,000 pairs of cards, 7,000 yards of cloth, and has on hand 35,000 yards of D. W. Army cloth, 28,886 blankets, 10,000 needles, 150 barrels of bluestone.

During the war, the Insane Hospital, Deaf and Blind Institute, and the Public School System were sustained.

In conclusion let me say that every main line of railway in the State had been mapped out before the war—the Seaboard Air Line, the Southern, and the Atlantic Coast Line, only the Norfolk Southern has come since the war.

North Carolina, as well as the whole South, was undergoing a social and economic renaissance when the war came. We were already caring for the insane, the deaf and blind, the public school was in full force, and railroads were being built. The last decade, 1850-1860, witnessed the rapid development of Southern enterprises as the following figures will show. The South had not become petrified nor static; the dynamic energy displayed by the South since the war was already here.

One-third of the yarns were being spun in the South.

Cotton manufacturing in that decade had increased 43 per cent.

Virginia, North Carolina and Alabama products were worth $1,000,000.

Manufacturing of woolen goods increased 143 per cent—the largest increase in the nation.

In carding wool the South was next to the Northwest.

Boots and shoes increased 89 per cent.

Paper-making increased 700 per cent.

Coal: Virginia, 70 per cent; Alabama, 236 per cent; Kentucky, 200 per cent.

Sheet iron and railroad bars, 63 per cent; agricultural implements, 50 per cent.

The war did not make the South industrial. It was already moving in that direction. Without the war it would have become such.

Somebody lost $200,000,000 by the freeing of the slaves in North Carolina, but they lost only the titles to them. As an economic factor, the slave remained as the emancipated negro. Society in the South changed from slave labor to free labor. The great economic loss in the South was not emancipation for the emancipated ploughed the fields and gathered the grain after the war as they did before. The great loss came in those who returned not from the battlefields.

Union Sentiment in North Carolina During the Civil War

BY MARY SHANNON SMITH.

Since the beginning of the great European War, we have realized anew how difficult it is to get at the real truth of history, and that most events that bring about profound changes have various elements which are almost impossible to analyze. Facts may be recorded, but motives, causes, purposes—the unseen forces of thought which lie back of all the rest—these are more elusive.

In any country under stress where there is continued unanimity of action it would appear to come from strong social control of thought and conduct, indifference, ignorance, or some colossal danger. An alert and thinking people are in time bound to differ.

As North Carolina has always stood for individualism, and as there was much divergence of thought down to the war, it would be most unusual if the outward Act of Secession in April, 1861, would for long make the minds of all the people run in the same channel, although the sudden shock or social control might for a time, at least, make them appear to do so. One learns to make allowances on both sides for expressions of partisanship and to realize that usually the real conditions are somewhat different from the strongly emotional contentions of either side. For, as in the present great war, any divergence of feeling North or South would have been kept as far as possible within the lines and those in control would try to minimize the divergence.

The horrible blunders of Congress in the administration of the South during the period of reconstruction, which compelled all elements of the people to unite, have largely made us overlook the different state of mind during the war itself.

This paper is based largely on the files of the *Fayetteville Observer* from July, 1853, through December, 1864, and on three large bound volumes of "Hale Papers" from 1850 to 1865. *The Observer* until the outbreak of the war was Whig and strongly Union; during the war it was unfailingly loyal to the Southern cause, and from the election of Governor Vance in 1862 to the close of the war it particularly represented his administration. The paper was one of the ablest in the State and of commanding influence. The private papers comprise a large number of personal letters, many of them confidential, from the most prominent men in the State. So far as known they have never before been read except by the Hale family and at the office of the State

Historical Commission. Such material should reflect most unconsciously and therefore accurately the prevailing sentiment of the State. It is an interesting experience in studying a momentous period in history to forget the present and live again with those who are recording and interpreting the events, especially with one who in personality and training looks at life in a large way. Such an interpreter was Edward J. Hale, in the pages of whose paper the past of North Carolina, our country, and the world live again. While going through the files of these papers, the writer most unexpectedly had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Edward J. Hale 2d, of Fayetteville, now United States Minister to Costa Rica. He said that the *Observer* continued to be printed until Johnston's army marched through the town. It was then for a time suspended and the files of the paper hurriedly buried. The private papers have at different times been through fire, water and smoke, so that numbers of them are somewhat difficult to read and the edges burned.

On April 15 of 1861 the *Fayetteville Observer* carried an advertisement from Greensboro—Prospectus of the "Stars and Stripes." This was to be a three-months campaign paper for the Union, during which it was hoped to reach "the great public ear of the State."[1]

In the same issue there occurred in small type the headline "Sensation Dispatches." Of these Mr. Hale says: "But the oddest part of the affair is that the [*Petersburg*] *Express* should publish this dispatch with such blood and thunder heading just above the 'very latest,' showing that the story was an arrant humbug."[2]

But farther on we find, "The War Commenced!!" "Bombardment of Fort Sumter!!!" The statements at first are hardly credited, then as more and more reports come, Mr. Hale says:

> "This is dreadful news. War is a terrible evil. Civil war the worst of all earthly evils. Nothing but dire necessity can justify it. We are too imperfectly advised as yet of the causes to pronounce decidedly whether that necessity existed in this case. Let us wait for something more definite and reliable than the telegraph furnishes. * * *
>
> Let us wait. And let us wait long before we unite our destinies with those of a people who have ignored us, our interests, feelings, and honor, from first to last. If we should be impelled to separate from the Union, *let us take care of ourselves.*[3]

In the issue seven days later we are shown the instantaneous and thrilling effect of Lincoln's proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops and asking North Carolina to send her quota. To this Governor Ellis replied: "You can get no troops from North Carolina."

---

[1] *Fayetteville Observer*, April 15, 1861, p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Mr. Hale in an editorial says: "Will she do it? Ought she to do it? No. No. Not a man can leave her borders upon such an errand, who has not made up his mind to war upon his own home and all that he holds dear in that home. For ourselves we are Southern men and North Carolinians, and at war with those who are at war with the South and North Carolina."[4]

Governor John W. Ellis had on the 17th called a special session of the Legislature to meet on May first; ordered seized the coast forts and the United States arsenal at Fayetteville; and called for volunteers.[5]

The Observer quotes an article from the *Raleigh Standard* which shows that the "Unionists" of North Carolina will all stand by the South when it is attacked. This is particularly to be noticed as in February the people had voted against calling a Convention to consider the relations of the State to the Federal Union 47,333 to 46,672 and at the same time had elected eighty-three Union delegates to thirty-seven Disunion deledates in case a Convention was held.[6]

The Legislature on May 1 passed an act providing for an election on May 17 of delegates to a Convention to meet on May 20. The Legislature also voted various measures in preparation for war.[7]

When the Convention met in the Commons Hall of the Capitol, one hundred and sixteen delegates were present and four absent. It had as members many of the most influential men in the State.

While a preliminary vote seemed to show forty-nine for the Badger theory of revolution and sixty-six for the Secession ordinance of Craige, the Craige ordinance was finally unanimously adopted.[8] One of the members years afterward wrote: "I remember well that when the act of Secession was consummated the body looked like a sea, partly in storm, partly calm, the Secessionists shouting and throwing up their hats and rejoicing, the Conservatives sitting quietly, calm, and depressed."[9] A week later North Carolina joined the Confederacy. Yet even during these early days we find slight references to individual uncertainty or difference of opinion.[10]

While these things were happening in the South, the North, equally thrilled by the firing on Fort Sumter, was for the time seemingly fused into one party and ready to crush, if possible, all opposition to the policy of the government.

This seeming unanimity of opinion North and South, we must remember, was at the beginning of the struggle, when few on either side real-

[4] *Fayetteville Observer*, April 22, 1861.
[5] Hill, *Young People's History of North Carolina*, p. 271.
[6] *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 1013-1015, 1018, Note 10.
[7] *Senate and House Journals*, 1860-1861.
[8] *Journal of the State Convention*, 1861, pp. 3-17, also *Fayetteville Observer*, May 27, 1861, p. 1.
[9] Holden, *Memoirs*, p. 17.
[10] *Fayetteville Observer*, Jan. 20, 1862, pp. 2-3; Jan. 27, 1862; Feb. 3, 1862, pp. 2-3; Feb. 10, 1862, p. 3.

ized what the actual conflict would mean. That there was later much divergence in the North is well known; that there would also be honest difference of opinion in the South was also to be expected. These differences were more or less unorganized during the first year or two of the war, though the newspapers by 1862 reflect the tendency to criticism. The independence of the press and its freedom from arrest under both the State and Confederate Constitutions is an important fact to remember.

An example of the conditions developing in the State is shown in a private letter from William J. Yates, editor of the *Charlotte Democrat,* to Mr. Hale, dated August 18, 1862, discussing conditions in Forsyth, in the course of which he says:

> I think, though, it is not best to make some things known to the public at this time; therefore I have refrained from giving information of disaffection in certain localities through my paper. I have not published one-sixteenth part of what I have heard, because I dislike for the public outside of the State to know that we have any tories in the State * * * a large portion of our population is disaffected. The conscript law has cooled the patriotism of many alarmingly, and I know of some who were very patriotic in words before that law went into operation, but who now manifest anything else but the right spirit—they are tired of the war, and say they are willing for anything to stop it.

In the summer of 1862 came the biennial election for Governor, the first since the war. There were no regular conventions held and no platforms adopted, but leading newspapers suggested candidates and some county meetings were held. Col. William Johnston, President of the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad, was the candidate of the Democratic papers, while Col. Zebulon Baird Vance, who had been brought forward by Holden of the *Standard* and supported by the *Observer* and other leading papers, opposed Johnston and was elected by over 30,000 majority.

This election was interpreted by some as unfavorable to the Confederate Government, as Colonel Johnston was a Democrat, while before the war Vance had been a Union man. Some of the Northern papers misinterpreted the election in this way, as some historians have since,[11] but Vance had been in the army from the outbreak of the war and was to show as Governor his loyalty to the State of North Carolina and the South.

All through the following winter the *Observer* reflects the conflicting reports of conditions in the State. In an editorial on the interference of the *Richmond Enquirer* in the affairs of North Carolina Mr. Hale says:

---

[11] *Fayetteville Observer*, Sept. 1, 1862; Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, p. 283.

And yet forsooth these Virginians lecture her upon loyalty and duty; falsely charge her with entertaining a "plot" to overthrow the government, and insinuate that she has a lurking hope of a restoration or reconstruction of the defunct and despised Union. And one of the high officers of the Confederate Government, whose duties bring him in contact with thousands of North Carolinians, both civilians and soldiers, insolently and falsely calls her "a damned nest of traitors," for which, if President Davis has a proper idea of what is due himself and to an insulted State, he will pitch the slanderer out of the office he disgraces.[12]

In the next issue there is an editorial showing how certain newspapers in Virginia, as the *Richmond Enquirer,* and in South Carolina, slander the State, though Mr. Hale admits that they are moved by certain journals in North Carolina itself, "which," as he says, "have no State feeling." Twice during March the *Observer* appeals to the press for the sake of the cause to stop wrangling and making charges of unfaithfulness which are calculated to encourage the enemy as much as a great victory.[13]

We are approaching the summer of 1863, when the discontent was to be organized and find a leader in the editor of the *Raleigh Standard,* W. W. Holden, who had been a power in the political history of the State since about 1850 and had brought forward Vance as a candidate for Governor in 1862.

The history of the State through the war was so largely moulded by these two leaders that their attitude toward the State, the Confederacy and the war should be most carefully studied.

In the biography of Jefferson Davis, written by a brilliant native of North Carolina, the idea is given that Vance and Holden worked together in opposing the Confederacy and for peace.[14] As the book was published in 1907 Mr. Dodd's sources were, I assume, the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* which contains only Governor Vance's controversies with President Davis. The Vance and the Hale papers had not then been made available for historical purposes. In these sources, many of which were confidential letters written in the stress of the times, the evidence seems irrefutable that Vance and Holden broke with each other in the summer of 1863 over the issue of the Peace meetings, Governor Vance continuing to work for the Southern cause throughout the war.

Before discussing the "Peace Movement" it may be well to say a word about Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy. In a most interesting paper on "A Theory of Jefferson Davis" in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1915, Mr. W. W. Stephenson of Charleston, South Carolina, writing of the central fact of Davis's youth, says:

---

[12] *Fayetteville Observer*, January 12, 1863, p. 3.
[13] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1863, p. 3; March 26, 1863, p. 3.
[14] William E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, pp. 283, 301, 337-340.

* * * He was a boy without a country * * * his was a migratory growth, frequently transplanted[15] * * * The army must to a considerable extent have been his country * * * Long afterward, in his final crisis, Davis failed to appreciate a certain type of man. It was a type in which love of one's community had become a passion. To that type he appeared in those stern days to be a monster. To him, apparently, the crushing of that type seemed a matter of course.[16]

Again Mr. Stephenson says:

Davis at the outset of his career accepted the political theories, the political phraseology, of the States' Rights party * * * For fifteen years he had talked one thing while he meant another; talked the constitutional rights of the individual States, while what he really meant was the economic interests of a consolidated South. * * * He clung to the phraseology of States' rights as stubbornly even as Rhett or Stephens, who genuinely believed in it. And yet when occasion finally tested him, behind his words, striking through his words, appears something quite different—the Southern Nationalist.[17] * * * The internal history of the Confederacy is largely the battle of these irreconcilable ideals[18] * * * His States' rights phraseology and his long series of centralizing measures appeared to them irreconcilable.[19] * * * He became the prisoner of an illusion.[20]

The able paper on the "Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina," given by Judge Montgomery before this Association in 1913, reveals clearly this element in the situation.[21]

Mr. Dodd in writing of the general condition of the Southern Government at the beginning of 1863, says: "The commanders of the troops were at loggerheads; parties and cliques had grown up; and the President was not implicitly trusted by the people."[22]

Between these two forces of the State and the Confederacy stood Vance. On the one side he must safeguard the rights of the Sovereign State of North Carolina which he thought were being threatened, and, on the other, he must hold the State loyal to the Confederacy to which she had pledged her faith.

On June 10th he wrote a private letter to Mr. Hale asking him to come to Raleigh. This is thought to be the beginning of the association of Governor Vance and Mr. Hale, although they knew each other before. In this letter Governor Vance says:

---

[15] W. W. Stephenson, "*A Theory of Jefferson Davis*," in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXI, pp. 73-74.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
[21] Walter A. Montgomery, "Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina," *Proceedings North Carolina Literary and Historical Association*, 1913, pp. 35-55.
[22] William E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, p. 299.

I wish to talk with you about some matters seriously affecting the *status* of the party which elevated me to office, and perhaps the good of the Confederate cause itself, and I hardly wish to put anything I desire to say on paper. I make this request of you as being more nearly of my *precise stripe* politically—past and present—than any other editor in the State, and as the undisputed organ of the war element of the old Whigs.

Things are moving here in a manner calculated to give *such a Whig* uneasiness, and I desire advice and consultation. I hope to see Mr. Graham this week.

In a letter from Dr. Kemp P. Battle from Raleigh to Mr. Hale, July 3, 1863, he adds this confidential note:

I am afraid there is growing a split in the Conservative party; *e. g.*, Vance and yourself on one side, and on the other those who love to thwart and carp at the Confederate Government and the war.

In a confidential letter dated July 26, 1863, from Governor Vance to Mr. Hale he says:

I assure you I am deeply concerned at the turn things have taken. I asked Mr. Graham, Governor Swain, and others to talk to Holden, but it has done little good; he pretends, and maybe really is of the opinion, that four-fifths of the people are ready for reconstruction, and says he is only following the people, not leading them. This is not true in fact. He is responsible for half this feeling at least, if it exists. Of course, the driver sits behind the team and yet may be said to follow his horses.

I had a long talk with him yesterday, and requested him to say in his paper that he was not my organ on this matter and did not speak my sentiments. He promised to do so. I think it all-important that the people should know my sentiments, so that should there be a split he may not be committing to him any persons under the idea that he was my friend, which I think likely accounts for much of his popularity.

During August the letters to Mr. Hale are numerous; practically all of them discuss the growing dissatisfaction in the State. Quotations follow from those of Governor Vance, and a few others.

In a long, closely written letter from P. W. Stanback, Little Mills, August, 1863, he says:

Times, as you may agree with me, look exceedingly gloomy for us * * * our late reverses seem to have emboldened a few bad spirits among us; they have seized the opportune moment to encourage the disaffection that they know to have existed among the lower classes of our rural population, who (very many at least) have long entertained prejudices against the property holder, especially against slave owners. They persistingly regard this war as gotten up for their exclusive benefit; that they have no part or interest in it; that the burdens fall unduly heavy upon them; they, therefore, became greatly dissatisfied with both the exemption and conscription laws, especially so with the former as giving to the slave owner immunities and advantages over them on account of their property. This being the case, I have held * * *

that the [ ] means should have pursued towards them a conciliatory course; to lend them, as far as practicable, a helping hand, and this from principle no less than policy.

A letter from Thomas S. Ashe, member of Confederate Congress 1862-1864, Supreme Court Judge 1879-1887, and dated August 5, 1863, Wadesboro, to Mr. Hale, in which he mentions that he is again to run for Congress and needs advice, and also says:

* * * but I am really fearful that if we had an armistice we should never be able to get our people to fight again, and that reunion would be the result. * * * But I tell you, my dear Sir, that I believe that there is a purpose (now latent) on the part of the leaders of the peace movement to carry our State back into the United States. They are just now cautiously feeling their way through these meetings, but if our reverses continue it will not be long before an organized party in the State advocating that measure will assume shape and form, and will be headed by prominent men.

A letter from Governor Vance August 11, 1863, reports a successful visit to President Davis, where they discussed North Carolina affairs and Davis gave Vance authority to do certain things. He then adds:

I believe, however, the split with Holden is decreed of the gods. I have made up my mind to it * * * He is for submission, reconstruction, or anything else that will put him back under Lincoln and stop the war—and, I might add, punish his old friends and colaborers.

Pitch into them—cry aloud and spare not—my life—popularity, and everything shall go into this contest.

A long confidential eight-page letter from Morganton, August 29, 1863,* reports at length the disloyalty in the mountain section of the State, and continues:

I know not how it is elsewhere, but this part of the State is in a deplorable condition—on the very edge, indeed, of civil strife and butchery. The mountains are full of deserters, who are banded together and emboldened by a disloyal public opinion, which is daily finding expression in popular assemblages and otherwise. All persons are beginning to feel that sense of insecurity which is at once the cause and the effect of internal commotion, and presages a speedy appeal to arms unless arrested. The root of the whole matter is a deadly hostility to our cause and our Government, notwithstanding the specious pretext under which it is sought to be covered up. [Illegible from effects of fire, smoke, and water.]

It is pretended again that North Carolina has been put upon and slighted; but how comes it that when the Confederate Government backs down and almost gets on its knees to apologize, these men still feel affronted and will accept no satisfaction? * * * If the grounds of complaint alluded to did not exist they would find others. Now it seems to me that before we can take

*Only the initials V. C. remain of the signature to this letter, but by comparing it with other letters in the collection it seems to have been written by V. C. Barringer, of Concord.

the first step toward a cure we must understand something of the nature of the disease. We must boldly recognize the fact that there are in North Carolina, and have been from the start, a considerable body of men—many of them influential—who have been secretly and desperately opposed to our whole movement, who acquiesced in the incipient stages of the revolution only because they could not help themselves, and who today prefer the old Union to the Confederacy. [Illegible from effects of fire and water] last a mass and strength of popular feeling setting in against the Confederacy which is as certain to entail upon us civil war in North Carolina as that the sun is in the heaven—" [He then explains they expect to follow forms of law and elect as many peace men as possible to Congress, and also get control of the State Government.]

The whole thing is managed with a skill and an energy that show the hand of a master schemer.

The writer expresses the opinion that North Carolina is more liable to change and "to be played upon by sophists and calculators than any of the Confederate States proper except Tennessee."

As remedies he suggests:

1. The loyal press must discuss the whole question fully before the people. Unfortunately, we got divided, hotly divided, about the secession of the State in the winter of '61—one side lauding the old Union and the other side the new Confederacy—when Lincoln's proclamation, like a clap of thunder, startled and united both sides. But it was not, I affirm, a union based upon any intelligent and heartfelt popular conviction of the truth [illegible from effects of fire and water] attachment to the Union unshaken [illegible] hear the Confederate Government denounced as we see it daily denounced, is it any wonder that they should feel those attachments rather strengthened, and that they have been led into a causeless rebellion? I speak what I know, when I say that many persons believe that the Davis government is a more galling tyranny than Lincoln's. I do not mean, of course, that we should give Davis unmixed praise. [Explains that the right of separation should be explained to the people.] Crime and the guilt of crime is associated in the common mind with the hateful names of rebel and traitor. Our people, indeed, no people, can sustain long the weight of the conviction that they are incurring every day the punishment due to the darkest deeds known in the catalogue of human crimes. We ought, if we cannot do better, at least take the ground assumed by Washington in the contest between England and the Colonies, that we are fighting under the *de facto* government of the State, and as such are not guilty, even in the view of the English law of treason. Until something is done to remove this fatal impression, I cannot hope for any permanent good among our people. Let them feel that they are right in morals and in law, and we hope all things, come though disasters may be as thick as blackberries.

2. But, secondly and chiefly, a line ought to be drawn between the friends of Governor Vance and Holden. No true man doubts the integrity or the loyalty of the former, every true man must doubt that of the latter * * * You have no idea of the extent of his circulation. I have found his paper in every nook and corner of the mountains. Now, with such a man you cannot mince matters. True wisdom dictates that the sooner you break with him

the better; and I believe that if the friends of Governor Vance will boldly and at once shake him off, the State may be saved. Otherwise, unless we have a successful peace, he will wind the State around his fingers as he pleases and snap them in Governor Vance's face.

I have written more than I intended. I am really alarmed for the first time during the war as to the fate of North Carolina. I am ashamed of the figure she is made to cut before her friends and her enemies.

A most interesting letter is one from Aldert Smedes, of St. Mary's School, Raleigh, August 31, 1863, in which he thanks Mr. Hale for his article replying to the *Standard,* and then says:

But it seems to me that such heavy ordnance as you have used against him is directed at game too small. Holden is not really at the bottom of the disaffection in this State. He is merely the mouthpiece of the discontented, or the vane which shows the direction of the angry currents of popular feeling.

The principal cause of our present troubles in this State is to be found in the stomach, rather than in the heads and hearts of our people. Gentlemen, the great majority of our people cannot buy the necessaries of life at the present enormous prices! Starvation not only stares them in the face, but actually begins to work within them, and we know what a depressing [illegible] influence upon the temper and views of men enforced hunger produces. People who cannot get enough to eat are in a mood to grumble at everything. What wonder, then, that they should vent their spleen upon the war, which is the immediate cause of their suffering.

I confess I do not wonder that the patriotism of some waxes cold and their wrath hot when they look at the state of things around them.

Dr. Smedes then goes on to speak of the rich men who by high prices are extorting money from the poor, and says that they and not Mr. Holden are the worst enemies of the country.

Realizing the alarming condition of affairs, Mr. Hale changes the policy of attack and from minimizing the divergence, in a series of strong editorials beginning August 17th, boldly faces the issue in the open. He says:

It can no longer be doubted or denied that there is a division in public sentiment in North Carolina—on the one hand a determination to resist subjugation by the Yankee government and to achieve the independence of the Confederacy, on the other a peace party, as it is falsely called, that would be willing to have independence, but clamors for peace with or without independence.

He says the first are led by Governor Vance and the latter by the *Raleigh Standard,* though it is not so radical as some of its followers.[23]

As these editorials continue Mr. Hale is in receipt of various letters reporting the good effects they are having throughout the State and enclosing new subscriptions to the paper.

[23] *Fayetteville Observer*, August 17, 1863, p. 3.

That the conditions in the State were critical is shown by a most important "Address of the army to the people of North Carolina" that appeared in the same issue of the *Observer* signed by seven officers, among whom were Colonel Thomas Garrett of Bertie County and Colonel Bryan Grimes of Pitt County. This was an appeal to the people to resist any effort toward factions; it discusses the questions at issue and explains why they should stand together. The appeal goes on to show the danger to the State of these tendencies and that they might lead to civil conflict within the State, as in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri.[24]

The following independent accounts of a conference between Governor Vance, Governor Graham, Mr. Satterthwaite, a member of the Governor's Council, and Mr. Holden are especially important as showing the opposite positions held by Vance and Holden:

A letter from Governor Vance to Mr. Hale, September 7, 1863, from Raleigh, refers to a conference which Mr. Hale could not attend, but Governor Graham and Mr. Satterthwaite did. He read them letters from about thirty leading Whigs of the State, "all concurring in my views of duty."

> We sent for Holden and Governor Graham & talked to him earnestly for three hours. It would do no good—he would agree to nothing and insisted that the meetings should go on and I nor no one else should say a word! Modest proposition truly. I offered to keep silent if he would discourage the meetings—would not agree to it. Governor Graham was clear that I should issue a proclamation, but insisted it should be very mild and cautious. I have accordingly written one which will appear tomorrow, but I do assure you it is not the document my judgment would have dictated, but I yielded to Mr. Graham's better advice. I do not know that I will publish [burnt] unless my friends should think it of sufficient importance. I had prepared a lengthy letter going into the argument of the case fully, but it was thought best to adopt another mode.
>
> From my many letters and my own knowledge of the men holding these meetings, the metal is very small—I expect the peace men really have a majority to start with but the brains are largely with us * * * I am very hopeful of the contest. [He then suggests the policy Mr. Hale is to pursue toward Holden in his paper.]
>
> Don't let him deceive you. He is for reconstruction out and out. Write me often.

Many years later Mr. Holden wrote the following account of the conference:

> A short time after this Governor Graham was invited to Raleigh, and I was sent for to come down and meet him at the Governor's Mansion. I went down in company with F. E. Satterthwaite, Esquire, of Washington, N. C. Mr. Satterthwaite agreed with me, but took no part in the conversation. Governor Graham and Vance and myself talked for a long time on the state

[24] *Fayetteville Observer*, September 7, 1863, p. 4.

of the country. About that time I was publishing a series of proceedings of peace meetings in various counties. Governor Vance was opposed to them. I told him the people had a right to assemble and express their opinions and petition for redress of grievances, but I did not approve of propositions to return to the Union unconditionally; yet the people who held these meetings were the men who elected him Governor. Governor Graham, in this respect, seemed to concur with me more than Governor Vance.[25] * * *

This was the beginning of the wide separation between Governor Vance and myself, which resulted in my opposing him for Governor in 1864, and here I may say, and do say in the most emphatic manner, that I have never questioned his integrity, nor his honor, nor the sincerity of his devotion to his principles, or to the people whose servant he was and is.[26]

Just at this time Raleigh—with a population of between four and five thousand—was thrown into great excitement by a mob which broke up part of the office of the *Raleigh Standard,* while the following morning another destroyed the office of the *State Journal.*[27]

Governor Vance took hold of the situation vigorously and the excitement seemed in a few weeks to have largely subsided. Mr. Holden in a letter to Mr. Hale, October 7th, writes that of course after the mob he could not change his policy, but the height of the excitement over the peace meetings seemed over and in a letter dated October 26th Governor Vance writes: "I receive continued evidence of a better state of feeling in the State." But December 10th in another private letter he says: "But the Holdenites are making every effort to raise a row again. God help us. I fear we are on the eve of another revolution and civil war in the State."

A letter from Governor Vance who has been ill and still not well, dated December 21, 1863, in the course of which he says:

What would you say to Congress app'g Commrs to treat for peace? Would it do any good, North or South? Their terms would not be heard, of course, and it might help to put down the clamor here. Many of our friends here think it the only way to save North Carolina, and I confess I have been somewhat moved by their arguments, but am fearful to yield my position on such without good advice. Mr. Graham was much depressed whilst here on the subject, for though we suppressed the resolutions in the caucus, yet there was dissatisfaction among men of whom you would have thought better things. Don't think me faint-hearted—I have been sick and quite gloomy.

But the contest was to assume a new form, that of a Convention which was to be made the issue of the State campaign in 1864. To show that Governor Vance felt himself the servant of all the people and of the peace movement which he had fought in the State itself, we have his letter to Mr. Hale dated December 30, 1863.

---

[25] Holden, *Memoirs*, p. 24, also pp. 76-77.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[27] *Fayetteville Observer*, September 14, 1863, p. 3.

He had written Mr. Dortch as to the propriety of offering terms of peace in Congress. "He saw the President, who was not quite convinced of its propriety, but would consult about it." Governor Vance inclines to think more than ever it could do no harm "and would silence clamor of a certain few in North Carolina or force them to take sides against their country, which most of them are afraid to do while we still have two great armies in the field."

He gives as another reason that the plans are all arranged to advocate a Convention in the spring. This is to test Vance and he is to be beaten if he opposes it. He says: "I want the question narrowed down to *Lincoln or no Lincoln,* and don't intend to fritter away my strength on any minor issues."

A long important letter dated January 16, 1864, from D. K. McRae, who had just returned from discussing affairs at Richmond, expresses the opinion that a party strong in numbers—having an organ not unsuited to the position and determined in purpose has entered upon a plan by which the State at no distant day is to be carried out of the Confederacy." He reports having discussed the matter plainly with President Davis. "I recommended sharp and decisive measures, to wit, the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus and the declaration of martial law, the arrest of the most guilty parties and the employment of a sufficient force to carry the laws of Congress into thorough execution."

In a letter from Governor Vance to Mr. Hale, dated January 22, 1864, he writes that many good men are alarmed over the talk, among the disaffected, about losing their liberties as *Habeas Corpus.* He asks Mr. Hale to read some documents sent him which tell of the overthrow of the ballot in Kentucky and the conditions there, so that he may make use of it in his paper to show the disaffected the conditions.

A letter from Governor Vance, February 11, 1864, after discussing the issues, says:

> I make no doubt but the Convention issue will force everything asunder and form a new party—two of them rather. I do not wish this rupture to be upon any minor issue * * * Let them [the ultra-conservatives] abuse Jeff Davis and the Secessionists to their hearts' content, so they will oppose this Convention movement and keep to their duty on the war question, and whilst I would disapprove of all this as vexatious, I hold it would be bad policy to waste my strength by quarreling with them.

Years afterward, in writing of this campaign, Mr. Holden says:

> As a "peace" man, after July, 1863, I urged that this State alone, or with other Southern States, should negotiate for peace on honorable terms with the general government, as it seemed to be clear that Mr. Davis would not in any event attempt to negotiate; and as it also appeared to be clear that if

the war went to its end our subjugation was inevitable. In this I was sustained by a large majority of our people until Governor Vance's Wilkesboro speech on the 22d day of February, 1864.[28]

During the winter of 1864 various letters were exchanged between President Davis and Governor Vance, in the counrse of which the Governor urged that peace negotiations be opened with the Federals. President Davis shows the obstacles in the way and also advises him to abandon his policy of conciliation toward the promoters of discontent and set them at defiance. Governor Vance's well known letter to President Davis on *Habeas Corpus* strongly sets forth the discontent in the State, but he says: "Where and when have our people failed you in battle or withheld either their blood or their vast resources?"[29]

As is well known, Holden ran for Governor in opposition to Vance and the campaign was waged into the summer. The files of the *Observer* are missing for some months, but from the official record the vote for Governor was: Vance, 58,065; Holden, 14,471.[30] This strong endorsement of Vance showed that the State would abide by his policies. The peace feeling, as will be seen, continued through the last year of the war, but much of it might be attributed to a realization of the final outcome rather than to Union sentiment.

One more effort for peace was made in November of 1864, when Mr. Poole of Bertie County offered peace resolutions in the State Senate that five commissioners be elected by the General Assembly to act with others from the other States of the Confederacy as a medium for negotiating a peace with the United States; that they request of President Davis that he arrange for a conference through the medium of these commissioners; that whenever five of the States so act the Governor communicate officially with President Davis.[31]

The *Observer* later has the following special dispatch in regard to Mr. Poole's resolutions:

> The peace resolutions introduced by Mr. Poole of Bertie were tabled in the Senate today, 24 to 20. A motion to reconsider was defeated, 23 to 22.[32]

Mr. Hale adds: "This result would have been more gratifying if it had been arrived at with some approach to unanimity. That such resolution should have been supported by twenty-two senators is astonishing."[33]

I cannot close without a word for the masterly way in which the State affairs were managed during these years by Governor Vance and his

---

[28] Holden, *Memoirs*, pp. 71-72.
[29] Letter of January 8, 1864, quoted in *Fayetteville Observer* May 30, 1864, p. 2.
[30] *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 1000.
[31] *Fayetteville Observer*, November 28, 1864, p. 3.
[32] *Ibid.*, December 5, 1864, p. 4; December 8, p. 1.
[33] *Ibid.*, December 19, 1864, p. 1.

interpreter to the people, Mr. Edward J. Hale. The more the actual conditions are understood the more amazed one is at the marvelous skill these men showed in keeping the outward organization so efficient. Both had been strong Union men, both had continued so until Lincoln's call for troops. Yet when they went with the South neither swerved in his loyalty, but worked with tireless energy and gave all he had of ability and skill to her cause.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The vote on the matter of a Convention in February, 1861, indicates that North Carolina was strongly Union down to Lincoln's call for troops, April, 15, 1861.

2. The relations between the Confederacy and North Carolina were not cordial; the people felt that the State was distrusted and treated with suspicion. The feeling seemed especially strong against many of the centralizing policies of Jefferson Davis. The extremely complex conditions of affairs between the Confederacy and the State frequently placed Governor Vance in most delicate and trying situations which, with his group of able advisers, he met with great tact, firmness and ability. The evidence from his confidential correspondence with Hale proves conclusively that he was unswervingly loyal to the State and the cause of the South from the call for troops to the close of the war.

3. Granted the right of secession from the Federal Government, it would seem that a Southern State had an equal right to secede from the Confederacy, or to treat separately for peace, although whether it would have been wise to do so is, of course, an open question.

4. That there was deep and widespread dissatisfaction with the war is evident. That there was a strong undercurrent for the Union seems probable. Either side may admire the consistent course of action of one whose fundamental belief differs from his, but who is loyal to the truth as he believes it. As with the loyalists in the Revolutionary War, the Union element in the Civil War may be accorded honesty of conviction and a right to their opinion. Any other course would strike at the basis of the glory of North Carolina's past, whose foundation is the democratic doctrine of the right of the people to self-government and to self-expression of thought.

5. Of a State with such an undercurrent of faction that could subordinate personal feeling and with one hundred and fifteen thousand voters send into the field one hundred and twenty-five thousand troops, one can only say, as Daniel Webster did of his own State years ago: She needs no encomium. There she is. Behold her, and judge for yourselves.

The Southern Policy of Andrew Johnson

By J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

In the early morning of April 15, 1865, the tragedy of Lincoln's assassination having taken place the night before, Chief Justice Chase administered the oath of office to Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, who now became President of the United States. A glance at his previous career makes it plain that, while possibly because of temperament and certainly because of former political affiliations, he was unsuited to cope with the vexing problems which had menaced his illustrious predecessor and which now confronted him, he was, nevertheless, so far as experience and training in official position was concerned, better qualified for the presidency than a majority of those who have filled the place, not even excepting the one he now succeeded.

Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1808, the son of a poor bank porter, who shortly thereafter gave his life to save another, he was apprenticed to a tailor at an early age and in that way learned the trade, which he professed to the end of his life. Released from his service, he left North Carolina, where indeed no door of opportunity was open to him or likely to be so, journeyed to Tennessee, and located at Greeneville, a little village, the seat of Greene County. There he worked at his trade, married Eliza McCardle, a good woman, who, throughout the rest of his life, was an inspiration to higher and better things, and, not the least of his activities, discussed with radical intensity the political questions of the day in which he had a keen and, one may almost say, instinctive interest. He was heavily handicapped in the race for political preferment upon which he soon entered. He had learned to read in Raleigh, but it was his wife who taught him to write, and what other education he acquired was with pain and difficulty. But, serving in turn as alderman and mayor of Greeneville, he next represented his county in the lower house of the legislature in 1835 and 1839. He was an unsuccessful candidate for presidential elector in 1840 and a member of the state Senate from 1841 to 1843. He was then a successful aspirant for Congress, where he remained for ten years (1843-1853). Defeated for governor in 1851, he was triumphantly elected in 1853, after a campaign up to that time unparalleled for its bitter personalities, in which Johnson, appealing to the mass of the people, spared no one of those who opposed him, and with the same courage which characterized his entire career, refused to give the "satisfaction

customary among gentlemen," not because he was afraid to fight, for fear was left out of his physical, mental, and moral make-up, but because he was convinced to his own satisfaction that duelling was wrong. He, indeed, could say with truth, "These two eyes never looked upon any being in the shape of mortal man that this heart of mine feared." Serving two terms as governor, he was, in 1857, elected to the Senate of the United States where, while not of first rank, he was no unimportant figure, and where, bold as always, he matched his strength against John Bell, his powerful colleague from Tennessee, and against Jefferson Davis, then at his maximum of strength, power, and influence.

A States' Rights Democrat, a slave-holder, with no illusions in regard to the negroes and with something of the dislike of them characteristic of the class from which he was sprung, Johnson was never able to accept the doctrine of secession, not because of his dislike of secessionists, but because of his passion for the Union and the Constitution which to him always typified that Union. The Constitution provided no means of secession and therefore there existed in his opinion no right of secession. And so, during the dark days when Senator after Senator announced the secession of his State, and bade farewell to his colleagues, Johnson stood firm against all pressure and, alone of the Southern Senators, kept his seat, realizing fully the possibility, if not probability, of thereby condeming himself to perpetual exile from the home of his choice and of his love. His feeling is best expressed in his own words. Speaking on February 16, 1861, he said:

> I have been told, and I have heard it repeated, that this Union is gone. It has been said in this Chamber that it is in the cold sweat of death; that in fact it is really dead, and merely lying in state waiting for the funeral obsequies to be performed. If this be so, and the war that has been made upon me in consequence of advocating the Constitution and the Union is to result in my overthrow and in my destruction, and that flag—that glorious flag, the emblem of the Union, which was borne by Washington through a seven-years struggle—is interred, I want no more honorable winding-sheet than that brave old flag, and no more glorious grave than to be interred in the tomb of the Union.

And so, with undaunted courage, he made his choice.

In 1862, Lincoln made him military governor of Tennessee, charged with the duty of restoring in the State a civil government loyal to the United States. Fulfilling this difficult and dangerous duty with fidelity and a measure of success, he was, in 1864, selected by Lincoln as his running mate in the presidential campaign of that year, a choice dictated by a desire to show the outside world, by the selection of a Southerner, that the seceded States were still part of the Union, and a desire to express to the country, by the nomination of a Democrat, the reality

of the name Union Party, which the Republicans now assumed. It is not at all improbable that a third reason influenced Lincoln. The problem of the restoration of the seceded States was known to him to be of the first magnitude. Is it not likely that Johnson's known agreement[1] with his views and connection as military governor with his plan, may have been a leading cause of his decision?

This was the man, then, on whom devolved the duty and responsibility of restoring the seceded States, of carrying out Lincoln's plan, which was in all essential respects in accord with all his own political ideals and constitutional principles. For Johnson came out of the war as he went in—a States' Rights Democrat and, as such, a firm believer in the indestructibility of a State, a doctrine, which, although with stammering lips, he had clearly enunciated in his ever-to-be-regretted inaugural as Vice President.[2] In 1861, he had introduced into the Senate the following resolution, which was adopted almost unanimously, and which, in a slightly different form, the House had already adopted a few days before:[3]

> That this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of subjugation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired.

The indestructibility of the Union and of a State was thus the doctrine on which the war was fought. It was the only solution in the Northern mind at the beginning of the war. It was the doctrine on which Lincoln's policy of war and policy of restoration were both based, it was the direct inspiration of Lincoln's and Seward's letters and instructions to ministers abroad,[4] it appeared clearly in Sherman's convention

[1] Johnson in 1863 had warned Lincoln through a letter to Montgomery Blair to beware of the proposition of States relapsing into territories and held as such. McPherson, *History of Rebellion*, p. 199.

[2] The part alluded to is as follows: "Before I conclude this brief inaugural address, in the presence of this audience—and I, though a plebian boy, am authorized by the principle of the government under which I live to feel proudly conscious that I am a man, and grave dignitaries are but men—before the Supreme Court, the representatives of foreign Governments, Senators and people, I desire to proclaim that Tennessee, whose representative I have been, is free. She has bent the tyrant's rod, she has broken the yoke of slavery, and today she stands redeemed! She waited not for the exercise of power by Congress; it was her own act, and she is now as loyal, Mr. Attorney General, as is the State from which you come. It is the doctrine of the Federal Constitution that no State can go out of the Union; and moreover Congress cannot eject a State from the Union. Thank God, Tennessee has never been out of the Union! It is true the operations of her government were for a time interrupted; there was an interregnum; but she is still in the Union and I am her representative. This day she elects her Governor and Legislature, which will be convened on the first Monday of April, and again her Senators and Representatives will soon mingle with those of her sister States; and who shall gainsay it, for the Constitution requires that to every State shall be guaranteed a republican form of government."

[3] This resolution was adopted with two dissenting votes in the Senate and five in the House.

[4] The instructions to Mr. Charles Francis Adams in 1861 contained the following: "You will indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect or even impatience concerning the seceding States, their agents, or their people. But you will, on the contrary, all the while remember that those States are now, as they always heretofore have been, and notwithstanding their temporary self-delusion, they must always continue to be, equal and honored members of this Federal Union, and that their citizens throughout all political misunderstandings and alienations, still are and always must be our kindred and countrymen."

with Johnston, and it was the ideal of both Lincoln and Johnson, neither of whom ever departed from it in any essential particular.

Let us now glance at the views and plans of Lincoln as to restoration. In 1863, he issued his amnesty proclamation in which he prescribed an oath, the taking of which would restore to his personal and property rights any supporter of the Confederacy, with the exception of civil and diplomatic officers of the Confederacy, those who had left judicial positions or seats in Congress or the army and navy of the United States to assist the Confederacy; all Confederate officers above the rank of colonel in the army or lieutenant in the navy, and all who had maltreated prisoners of war. At the same time he announced that he would recognize as the government of any seceded State, except Virginia, where the Peirpoint government had already been established, and which had throughout the war two Senators in Congress, and for a time several Representatives, such organizations as might be set up by persons who had taken the oath, provided they should reach in number ten per cent of the voting population of the State. Already in 1862, at the same time that Johnson was appointed military governor of Tennessee, General Shepley was given a similar appointment for Louisiana. Under their direction, elections for Congress were held in such districts of the two States as were then under Union control, and in the 37th Congress, there were two Representatives from Louisiana and three from Tennessee. To this extent Congress still recognized the existence of the States. Under these new terms governments were established in Louisiana and Arkansas which received the recognition of the President but which were denied representation in both houses of Congress. With Virginia and Tennessee they formed a nucleus for later presidential action.

This policy failed to meet with the approval of a majority in Congress. Not only did the legislative branch, now growing very sensitive to encroachments of the executive, fail to recognize the validity of the governments thus established; it denied that the President had any authority to deal with the problem of Reconstruction, and, to make its own position clear, passed an act providing for restoration on a pattern of its own. This act was "pocketed" by Lincoln, who made it the occasion for a most remarkable address to the people of the United States, which was in effect a veto message. This left him, as it were, in possession of the field, for a furious public attack made on him by Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, and Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, the leaders of the counter-movement in the Senate and the House, weakened him not at all, but had rather the opposite effect. In 1864, he was renominated with Johnson as his fellow-candidate who, as has been seen, was

in entire accord with his views, and on a platform which contained no plank opposed to their position. The strength of the ticket was sufficient to force the withdrawal of Fremont, who had been nominated by the radical opponents of the President. Nevertheless, it is not doubtful that had Lincoln lived, the contest would have been renewed, and that it would have taxed even his abilities to carry out his policy. But at the time the opposition was apparently stifled, for Congress, realizing fully that the end of the war was at hand, had adjourned until the following December, which, of course, gave the President a free hand. And Lincoln's views were known to be unchanged. To illustrate his eagerness upon the subject of a speedy restoration, his remarks to Johnson when the latter came to Washington to be inaugurated are interesting: "My great and sole desire has been to preserve these States intact under the Constitution as they were before; and there should be an amendment to the Constitution which would compel the States to send their Senators and Representatives to the Congress of the United States."[1]

It was to this difficult position that Johnson now ascended, handicapped by his Democratic affiliations and sympathies, by his Southern birth, and by his temperamental characteristics. His coming, indeed, was hailed by the advanced radicals who distrusted Lincoln because they hated that quality of mercy which in him was indeed not strained. At the last meeting of the Cabinet, the latter had made clear his feeling in these words: "No one need expect I will take any part in hanging or killing these men. Frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars, scare them off. Enough lives have been sacrificed; we must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and Union."[2] But Johnson had a different record. Continually throughout the war, he had voiced his stern conviction that treason must be made odious by the hanging of traitors, a punishment which indeed he made it clear that he regarded as all too light for the offense. In his horror at Lincoln's assassination he had accepted, rather reluctantly it is true, but without serious question, Stanton's assurance that Joseph Holt had evidence to prove clearly the complicity of Jefferson Davis and other Southern leaders in the plot, and his fury, rekindled, caused violence of speech. On the very afternoon of Lincoln's death, a caucus of the more bitter Radicals was held at which the feeling "was nearly unanimous that the accession of Johnson would prove a God-send to the country." The next day, "Blunt Ben" Wade, speaking for the Committee on the Conduct of the War, of which Johnson had been an active and respected member, said: "Johnson, we have faith in you. By the gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government."[3]

[1] Speech of Johnson, February 22, 1866.
[2] DeWitt, *Vice President Andrew Johnson*, in Southern History Association Publications, Vol. IX, No. 3, p. 159.
[3] Julian, *Recollections*, p. 257.

But Johnson, while severe, was not merciless, and time, responsibility, and a sincere desire for a genuine restoration of the Union greatly softened his views. Never had he favored widespread punishment, but he had always believed that leniency, conciliation, and amnesty should be extended to the mass of the people of the South. Another fact may be noticed. Most of Johnson's threats of punishment had been made while he was military governor of Tennessee or while he believed on the basis of the false statements of Stanton and Holt that Lincoln's death was the result of a Southern conspiracy participated in by Southern leaders. When he became President, with the actual control of affairs in his own hands, conditions were more powerful than theory, particularly when he discovered the falsehoods with which he had been imposed upon.

Another serious question of policy remained in doubt, namely, the status and treatment of the emancipated negroes. It was one of Johnson's best characteristics that he was able to listen attentively to advice, even when unwelcome, and afterwards to consider it with care and, for so intense a person as he, with quite an open mind. His very tact as a listener frequently brought him trouble as when Charles Sumner and Chief Justice Chase, confirmed negrophiles, both far in advance of public sentiment at the North, took his silence in response to their arguments for consent and declared him definitely committed to negro suffrage. But such was not at all the case. Johnson personally did not favor negro suffrage, although he would not have been opposed to a qualified form of it.[1] But far more important than his personal feeling in the matter was his absolute conviction that suffrage under the Constitution was a matter outside the province of the general government, and one to be regulated by the individual States alone.

When the question of restoration came before the Cabinet at its first meeting under the new administration on April 16, there was no necessity for any new theory or new plan. The plan applied in Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, and Louisiana was in operation, and Secretary Stanton had already, at the last meeting before Lincoln's death, submitted the draft of a proclamation for beginning the work in the other States. And so Johnson took up the work at the very place that Lincoln had left it.[2] The movement for assembling the Southern Legislature was checked. On May 9, the Peirpoint government of Virginia was

[1]Cf. Johnson's letter to Governor Sharkey of Mississippi, McPherson, *Political Manual for* 1866, p. 19. In his conversation with George L. Stearns in October, 1865, he developed this idea more fully. Said he, "the elective franchise is not a natural right but a political one. I am not disposed on that point to interfere with the people of a State; if the people there go wrong we have the army and can control by legislation too. But the general government has no right of voting in the State. My position here is different from what it would be were I in Tennessee. There I would try to introduce negro suffrage gradually: (1) to those who had served in the army; (2) to those who could read and write; and perhaps (3) with a property qualification to others—say $200 or $250. It will not do to let the negroes have universal suffrage now; it would breed a war of races."

[2]Dunning, *Reconstruction, Social and Political*, p. 35.

recognized by formal proclamation, and without proclamation, the governments of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee were accepted. But when the plan for North Carolina was taken up, new problems were presented, since in that State there existed no nucleus of a loyal government. Either the old government had to be recognized or a new one set up. The establishment of a new one seemed the only possible solution and, as it was evident that the plan applied here would serve as a model for all, the draft prepared by Stanton was the object of the careful scrutiny of all the Cabinet. In it was found a clause which Stanton had allowed Sumner and Colfax to insert, providing that "loyal citizens of the United States, resident in the State" should elect members of a convention. Stanton, after being questioned by Welles, who had reason to suspect the trick, admitted that its purpose was to force negro suffrage. At his request, the Cabinet then voted on the subject without debate and divided equally, Seward being absent.[1] The President made no comment and retained the draft.

On May 24 Johnson laid before the Cabinet his own plan,[2] as contained in two proclamations. The first was a new amnesty offer, which was more severe than Lincoln's, in that there were six additional classes excluded from its benefits, the most noteworthy being that of persons worth twenty thousand dollars. But it was announced that any person belonging to an excepted class might make special application for pardon and a promise of a liberal exercise of executive clemency was made. The second was a proclamation, based upon the constitutional obligation of the United States to guarantee a republican form of government to the several States. This, after reciting that the war had deprived the State of North Carolina of civil government, appointed William W. Holden provisional governor, and directed him to prescribe rules for calling a convention of the people to be chosen by such persons as were loyal to the United States, and who were entitled to vote under the laws in force at the time of secession. The various heads of departments of the United States Government were then instructed to resume the performance of their duties within the State, and the courts were also instructed to resume the administration of justice.

It will be noticed that the President ignored the Radical demand for negro suffrage. Leaving out of consideration his constitutional views and personal preferences already alluded to, it must be said that, had he heeded it, he would have been far in advance of Northern public sentiment at this time. The demand for it was small. Only six States now granted it in any form, and two of those with restrictions,[3] and there

[1]Welles, *Diary*, II, pp. 301-02; *Galaxy*, April and May, 1872, pp. 526-37, 666. The vote stood as follows; For negro suffrage, Stanton, Dennison, and Speed; against, Welles, McCulloch, and Usher.

[2]The plan differed in no essential particular from that presented by Stanton except that part of it relating to the suffrage requirement.

[3]The five New England States and New York. New York and Connecticut imposed limitations upon negro suffrage.

was small likelihood of the number's being largely increased. Such men as Governor Morton, Governor Andrew, William Cullen Bryant, E. L. Godkin, Charles A. Dana, John Sherman, General Sherman, and J. W. Forney opposed it, as did such influential newspapers as the *New York Times,* the *Chicago Republican,* and the *Philadelphia Press.*

To the President's plan every member of the Cabinet assented, including Stanton,[1] and on May 29 both proclamations were issued. On June 13, a similar proclamation was issued in the case of Mississippi, and within a month, others for Georgia, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina, and Florida. Thus in less than two months the plan was put into practical operation in all the late Confederate States.

The provisional governors went promptly to work, and during the summer and fall of 1865 civil government was revived in each lately seceded State, except Texas, by the calling of a convention which carried out Johnson's plan in accordance with the proclamation and an important part of the plan not therein included. Through conversations and correspondence he had made it clear that he expected each State through its convention to declare the ordinance of secession null and void, abolish slavery, and repudiate its war debt. Further, the proposed Thirteenth Amendment was to be ratified as soon as the Legislature assembled. These conditions were, generally speaking, carried out in full.[2] Elections were held, the newly elected officers were installed, and when Congress met in December, 1865, every Southern State except Texas had full delegations present claiming seats in the two houses. There was evidently no need of Lincoln's constitutional amendment.

It must be confessed that the Southern people, while undoubtedly acting in entire sincerity and with the best intentions, displayed in their choice of Senators and members of Congress little political wisdom and small comprehension of the state of Northern sentiment. Scarcely one of those chosen could take the test oath, an indispensable requirement for admission. It is, however, very true, that every State would have found it difficult to send fit men who could take the oath. None could have sent representative men. Many of them had been very prominent in the war, and among the newly elected Southerners were Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, William A. Graham, president *pro tem.* of the Confederate Senate, and Herschel V. Johnson, a Confederate Senator. Almost every one had served the Confederacy in some capacity. It can scarcely be a cause for wonder that the North found objections.

[1] *Impeachment Testimony,* 1867, p. 401.
[2] South Carolina and Georgia repealed and Florida nullified the ordinances, while Mississippi refused to ratify the amendment.

In the meantime the amnesty oath prescribed by the President had been widely taken and thousands of applications for the pardon of excepted individuals had been made. Only a very small class in any State refrained from accepting the amnesty or seeking pardon. The South, up to this time, had not liked Johnson, but, generally speaking, it respected him, if only for his undoubted personal courage. His offer seemed and was to a high degree magnanimous and, while the exceptions to the benefits of the amnesty caused a wide exclusion, it was soon apparent that his promise of liberality in executive clemency was not an idle one. The example of sincere acceptance of the results of the war was set by General Lee and a host of other loved and trusted leaders who not only promptly applied for pardon but quietly and without presumption encouraged every movement and tendency towards sincere reconciliation. Their example was followed, and the South as a whole gave Johnson whole-hearted support and, with entire sincerity, accepted the apparent results of the war. "But," as Schouler says, "though willing enough to take back seats if readmitted to Congress, they bore their defeat at arms like men and would not avow more penitence than they really felt. They did not go upon their knees for mercy like abjects, but had been willing to face punishment. Glad to be at peace now with their conquerors, they would not confess themselves 'traitors,' in the odious sense of the word, nor 'criminals' because of what they had fought for."[1] And the President, recognizing the spirit with which his offers were met, was not chary of pardon. Even Rhodes, always contemptuous of Johnson, and nearly everywhere else bitterly unjust to him, says, "The President granted pardons freely and wisely."[2]

An yet it is undeniable that mistakes were made in the exercise of the pardoning power, though Johnson cannot justly be held responsible for them unless, in that the provisional governors were his creatures, their faults should be laid at his door. Many good Union men were kept from pardon while extreme secessionalists received theirs. For example, William A. Graham, was kept from pardon for a long time by Governor Holden, while others far less deserving were recommended and pardoned. Another weakness in the system was caused by the number of applications and the various channels through which the President might be approached. Pardon matters usually went through the attorney-general's office, and Attorney-General James Speed had a cousin who was a pardon broker.[3] That there were other similar abuses is more probable.

In the South, the element dominant in carrying out Johnson's policy

[1] Schouler, *History of the Reconstruction Period*, p. 33.
[2] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, V, p. 535.
[3] R. J. Powell to W. W. Holden, North Carolina Executive Correspondence.

were the old Whigs, chiefly those of former strong Union proclivities. Democrats in general took a back seat. Extreme secessionists, of whatever political affiliations, did likewise. Not all the Southern people, however, were pleased with the policy. In every State there were those who ardently desired to see political opponents proscribed and persecuted, whose very Unionism was chiefly a hatred of secessionists.[1] But in every State, they formed but a small minority. Later, disappointed politicians who had at first warmly espoused Johnson's policy and Johnson's cause, were to organize against him and go over to the Radicals, but as yet there was no appearance of this.

Of the sincerity of the South there can be but little question. Newspaper reporters, bent on manufacturing Radical sentiment, did accept isolated expressions of violent opinion as indicative of the prevailing sentiment of the Southern people. Northern travelers, in all good faith were surprised and horrified beyond measure to find in the South no general consciousness and confession of guilt and no hilarious joy at defeat. Carl Schurz, a foreigner and a Radical, was able, as he wrote his wife,[2] to verify every preconceived opinion as to the insincerity of the Southern professions, to prove conclusively to his own satisfaction and that of other Radicals, that the negro must be protected and given the ballot, and to show beyond peradventure or dispute why harsh terms should be demanded. But that was what he went for. Many, however, far better qualified to judge than he, and with no preconception and predilections, found a very different situation of affairs. Passing over the findings of Watterson and Truman with the mere mention of them, let us take the opinion of General Grant, who nearly always spoke with sincerity and without bias when he had no interest at stake. Said he:

> Both in traveling and while stopping, I saw much and conversed freely with the citizens of those States as well as with officers of the army who have been among them. The following are the conclusions come to by me:
>
> I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have hitherto divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections—slavery and State rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union—they regard as having been settled forever by the highest tribunal (arms) that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but that now the smoke of battle has cleared away and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole county, they receiving the like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in the cause. * * *

[1] Andrews, *The South Since the War*, pp. 111-112, 391-92.
[2] *The Writings of Carl Schurz*, I, p. 268.

My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as possible; that while reconstructing they want and require protection from the Government; that they are in earnest in wishing to do what they think is required by the Government, not humiliating to them as citizens, and that if such a course was pointed out to them they would pursue it in good faith.

In the North apparently the policy met with hearty approval. Every state convention, Republican and Democratic, in the autumn of 1865, with the exception of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, where Stevens and Sumner were in full control, voiced this sentiment, and in those excepted cases Johnson was not condemned. Morton and Andrew, the war governors of Indiana and Massachusetts, gave the President their hearty support, as did, among others, Henry Ward Beecher. Among those who wrote him pledging support were Hannibal Hamlin, General John A. Dix, General Thomas, E. W. Washburn, Lyman Trumbull, Governor Curtin, Simon Cameron, Reverdy Johnson, Gratz Brown, Senators Dixon, Cowan, and Doolittle, Jeremiah S. Black, George Bancroft, Francis Lieber, and General William T. Sherman. The last mentioned wrote to his brother in November: "You observe Mr. Johnson is drifting towards my terms with Johnston. He cannot help it, for there is no other solution. Any plan will have objections, but that least of all."[1] The New York *Evening Post* said: "The President is already proving himself by his successive acts one of the most discreet, clear-sighted, upright, and capable statesmen of the age,"[2] while the *Nation* commented on the fact that his policy had "the miraculous property of appearing to satisfy all parts and parties of the country."[3] Later the same paper declared the President's plan to be "the highest example of humanity, self-restraint, and sagacity ever witnessed—something to which the history of no other country offers any approach."[4] And, finally, the larger number of the governors' messages in December and January gave the policy hearty approval. John Sherman, at a much later date, wrote: "After this long lapse of time I am convinced that Mr. Johnson's scheme of reorganization was wise and judicious. It was unfortunate that it had not the sanction of Congress,"[5] and even Rhodes, with all his hostile bias, cannot but say: "If his plan had been sanctioned by the Republican majority it would have undoubtedly worked out pretty well the problem of Reconstruction."[6]

If it is asked why this "era of good feeling" did not continue, the answer is simple. The Radicals who had threatened Lincoln's policy

[1] *The Sherman Letters*, p. 257.
[2] Issue of June 20, 1865.
[3] Issue of September 28, 1865.
[4] Issue of December 14, 1865.
[5] *Recollections*, p. 308.
[6] *Op. cit.*, V, p. 548.

liked Johnson's no better. In addition they regarded him as a traitor to their party and at once began to plot for his removal. The arch-enemies of the President and his policy, as well as of peace and reconciliation, were Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, who, working from different points of view and with different motives, reached almost identical conclusions of practice, if not of theory, and formed a coalition upon which rests the responsibility for what we call Reconstruction. Stevens, the abler and more influential of the two, was a practical politician who looked at every question from the angle of party expediency and who strove for Republican success above all other ends. Calculating, selfish, unscrupulous, and imbued with an undying hatred for the South, he sought to inflict upon it the harsh punishment that his vindictive nature suggested. Lacking any repulsion in respect to the negro he advocated entire equality and practiced it. Sumner, on the other hand, was a theorist of the icy, idealistic, impractical sort, who made a fetich of human rights and equality and ended by worshipping an imaginary being which he called the negro, for whose actual embodiment, by the way, he entertained an instinctive and almost unconquerable physical disgust. Lacking sensibilities of any sort, he was incapable of passion, or, indeed, of any real emotions. He lived in abstractions and to secure what he theoretically regarded as justice was willing to inflict almost any concrete wrong. This unusual pair, whose joint activities were of a sort to betray even a cool-headed investigator of today into the verbal excesses characteristic of the fire-eaters of another generation, were the leaders in framing and directing congressional Reconstruction and as parties defendant they must answer the grave indictment which history will bring—which it has already brought—against them.

It is needless to say that the President's policy met with no favor from these men or their followers. Stevens called his entire course "insane," and Sumner defined his exclusion of negro suffrage from the North Carolina plan as "madness."[1] Stevens thought that, if something were not done, the President would be crowned king before Congress met, and continued, "The danger is that so much success will reconcile the people to almost anything."[2] The Radicals generally were dispirited and were determined to delay in the hope that some change in public sentiment favorable to their hopes might occur.

When Congress met the President won fresh assurance of approval because of his message, which was an unusually able document. Written as we now know by George Bancroft,[3] it was, nevertheless, a faithful

[1] Pierce, *Sumner*, IV, p. 253.
[2] Sumner, *Works*, p. 480.
[3] Dunning in Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, Vol. XIX, p. 395.

expression of the President's views. The statement of his constitutional view of the status of the Southern States is worth quotation here:

States, within the proper limitations of power, are essential to the existence of the Constitution of the United States.

The perpetuity of the Constitution brings with it the perpetuity of the States, their mutual relations make us what we are, and in our political system this connection is indissoluble. The whole cannot exist without the parts or the parts without the whole. So long as the Constitution of the United States endures the States will endure; the destruction of the one is the destruction of the other; the preservation of the one is the preservation of the other.

The true theory is that all pretended acts of secession were from the beginning null and void. The States cannot commit treason nor screen the individual citizens who have committed treason any more than they can make valid treaties or engage in lawful commerce with any foreign power. The States attempting to secede placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired, but not extinguished; their functions suspended, but not destroyed.

It contained further a statement of the progress of his plan, calling attention to the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment by the Southern States as "a pledge of perpetual loyalty and peace" and then said:

The amendment to the Constitution being adopted, it would remain for the States, whose powers have been so long in abeyance, to resume their places in the two branches of the National Legislature, and thereby complete the work of restoration. Here it is for you, fellow-citizens of the Senate, and for you, fellow-citizens of the House of Representatives, to judge, each of you for yourselves, of the elections, returns, and qualifications of your own members.

In spite of the general approval of the message, the extreme Radicals were not influenced. Before the reading of the message, they had already secured the exclusion of the Southern members and the appointment of the famous joint committee of fifteen on Reconstruction.

It is no part of this paper to discuss the relations of President Johnson with Congress and the final breach between them. This is a well known part of our history. Johnson's plan was complete; his further work was a vain, at times blundering and tactless, but an always honest and sincere attempt to check what he believed to a complete subversion of the Constitution. The following remarkable extract from one of his veto messages[1] indicates to what lengths he went in his appeals:

Those who advocated the right of secession alleged to their own justification that we had no regard for law, and that their rights of property, life, and liberty would not be safe under the Constitution as administered by us. If we now verify their assertion, we prove that they were in truth and in

[1]Veto of the Reconstruction Bill, March 2, 1867. McPherson, *Political Manual* for 1867, pp. 45-46 .

fact fighting for their liberty, and instead of branding their leaders with the dishonoring names of traitors against a righteous and legal government we elevate them in history to the rank of self-sacrificing patriots, consecrate them to the admiration of the world, and place them by the side of Washington, Hampden, and Sydney.

The hostility of the Radicals steadily increased and they finally succeeded in controlling the Republican party. The President standing in their way, they first by statute robbed him of important constitutional prerogatives and then resolved to displace him, chiefly for the reason set out in one of the minority reports of the Judiciary Committee on the question of his impeachment. It was as follows:

His greatest offense, we apprehend, will be found to be that he has not been able or willing to follow those who elected him to his office in their mad assaults upon and departure from the constitutional government of the fathers of the Republic; and that, standing where most of his party professed to stand when they elevated him to his present exalted position, he has dared to differ from a majority of Congress upon great and vital questions. He has believed in the continuing and binding obligations of the Constitution; that the suppression of the rebellion against the Union was the preservation of the Union and the States comprising it, and that when the rebellion was put down the States were all and equally entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States.

Slandered at every turn, watched in his official relations, his private life overlooked by spies, and his whole past raked up, the conspirators were unable to find any fact upon which to base charges against him. When finally impeached, the charges were so flimsy as to fall down completely before even such a court as the Senate of the United States had then sunk to be. And in the face of the facts[1] there are those today who, exercising the high calling of writing history, still perpetuate the slanders of those evil days and stamp him as an habitual drunkard![2]

During this period he was by the Radicals thrown into the arms of the Democratic party, and with him went the white South, in time to be the Solid South. Had Johnson's plan prevailed, the phrase would never have been coined. And yet Johnson had not, as we have seen, made what Rhodes calls, "a political somersault."[3] On the question of the punishment of the Southern leaders by judicial process he had a more consistent record than the Radicals themselves, although he refused to indict a whole people. On the question of Reconstruction he had simply followed the course to which he had always been openly and solemnly committed. Before the final breach every possible argument was employed and every kind of pressure was brought to bear to induce

[1]McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, 373-74; *Century Magazine*, January, 1913, p. 438; *Impeachment Testimony*, 1867.
[2]Rhodes, *Op. cit.*, V. p. 520; Bassett, *History of the United States*, pp. 599, 611.
[3]*Op. cit.*, V., pp. 522-23.

him to modify his views in accordance with the change that had taken place in Republican sentiment, and to stay in the party. Nor were promises alone employed. When they failed, threats replaced them, only to meet with the same fate. When Browning, a member of his Cabinet, pressed him to some action as likely to check the movement for impeachment, Johnson replied impatiently: "I will do nothing to check impeachment, if there is any wish to press it. I am tired of hearing allusions to impeachment. God Almighty knows I will not turn aside from my public duties to attend to these contemptible assaults which are gotten up to embarrass the Administration."[1] He might have won great fame and popular applause as well as the continued support of the Radicals by yielding. The South undoubtedly might have escaped with easier terms than those ultimately demanded and enforced. But Johnson's policy was not shaped by affection or consideration for the South, although in time he came to feel for the Southern people a keen sympathy, but by devotion to the Union; his views were not based upon party doctrines or expediency, but upon constitutional principles, and, right or wrong, when once he reached a decision on that to him most sacred of subjects, the Constitution, it was final and there was no possibility of change nor shadow of turning.

It is to no mere partisan, then, no sectionalist, that Americans owe to Johnson their tribute of gratitude and of praise, but to a national defender of the Constitution who, while he failed, is today known to have been right, and who, by his course, set an example of courage, firmness, and official rectitude which must always mean much to loyal and clear-thinking men. They, more and more, as time passes, will come to see him in the light in which he was viewed by three members of his Cabinet, all of whom had also served with Lincoln. Hugh McCulloch said of him: "He was brave, honest, truthful. He never shrank from danger, disregarded an engagement, or was unfaithful to his pledges. His devotion to the Union was a passion. There was no sacrifice he would not make for it, no peril he would not encounter in its defense."[2] Seward said: "I confess, with a full sense of my accountability, that among all the public men with whom I have been associated or concerned, in this or any other country, no one has seemed to me to be more wholly free from personal caprice and selfish ambition than Andrew Johnson; none to be more purely and exclusively moved in public action by love of country and good-will to mankind."[3] Still more noteworthy are the words of Welles who described him as "in many respects one of the best and most single-minded Executives we have ever had,"[4] and

[1] Welles, *Diary*, III, p. 52.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 405-07.
[3] *Works*, 5, p. 523.
[4] *Diary*, III, p. 17.

"as pure, as honest, as patriotic a chief magistrate as we have ever had."[1] And Schouler, his most valiant defender of today, says with truth that when he retired from office he could challenge criticism in the language of Samuel, "Whose ox have I taken? Or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed? Or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith."[2]

I have implied that the South's chief debt to Johnson is the same as that owed by other sections of the country. And yet, we are so constituted, and properly, that we do not and cannot forget that, when the South was prostrate, it was he who, whatever may have been his reasons, extended a helping hand; that, when the people of the South were broken and all was lost save honor, it was he who, although he had himself suffered grievously at their hands, with magnanimity received them back into national fellowship, and, before the end of his term, extended a free pardon to all, including the well-nigh martyred Davis; that when the Southern States were excluded from a share in government, and when it was proposed in seriousness to hold them as conquered territory and deliver them over to the spoiler and the African, "that terrible inert mass of domesticated barbarism,"[3] it was he who, undaunted, became the chief of their defenders; and finally, that when the Southern people were well-nigh desperate, his example restored their failing spirits and gave to them a fresh impulse to regain and hold the cherished gifts of the Fathers.

The time has come for Americans to see him as he was; to hold up his noble qualities for the admiration and emulation of the generations of coming Americans. Never was there a more fitting time to study them; for in him was no divided allegiance, his patriotism was unhyphenated, and for such as he the inspiring phrase, fast becoming a nation-wide motto, of our Southern-born President, the first since Andrew Johnson, was unnecessary. In his doctrine and in his life he exemplified

"America First."

[1] *Diary*, p. 20.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 9.
[3] C. F. Adams, Jr., quoted in Rhodes, *Op. cit.*, VI, p. 82.

Thomas Jordan Jarvis and the Rebuilding of North Carolina

By Henry Groves Connor.

George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, wrote of the early settlers of the Albemarle:

> They were restless and turbulent in their imperfect submission to a government imposed on them from abroad; the administration of the colony was firm, humane, and tranquil when they were left to take care of themselves. Any government but one of their own institution was hard to be borne.

Unfortunately, two centuries later, the men of Massachusetts, and their descendants in other parts of the country, forgot the truth recorded by the eminent Massachusetts historian. To this fact, in a large measure, may be attributed conditions which existed in North Carolina from 1867 until 1877. The student of our State history, in the light of Bancroft's statement, will be able to understand and interpret the language found in the Raleigh *Observer* of January 2, 1877, commenting on the recent victory of the Conservative Party at the polls:

> With feelings of the profoundest gratitude to Almighty God for the great deliverance He has vouchsafed to us, we chronicle the fact that North Carolinians once more live under a government administered by officers of their own free choosing.

This language gave expression to the convictions and emotions of a very large majority of the people of the State because it marked the day and the occasion when "the curtain fell upon the last scene of the great Reconstruction Drama." It is interesting to note, because it illustrates a law, the force of which neither the statesman who would legislate for, nor the student who would interpret the life of a people, can safely underestimate, the law of continuity and heredity. When, in 1876, the people of North Carolina determined to restore a government administered by men of their own choosing, they selected as their representatives and leaders, those who had inherited the spirit of the men of Albemarle, Mecklenburg and Cape Fear. Zebulon Baird Vance was of the Scotch-Irish stock of whom he said: "Resistance to tyranny, in all its forms, seemed to be their normal condition. It was a part of their religion." The ancestors of Thomas Jordan Jarvis were among the men of Albemarle, "who had been led to the choice of their residence from a hatred of restraint and had lost themselves among the woods in

search of independence." John M. Worth was a descendant of the liberty-loving, God-fearing Quakers, of Randolph. Thomas S. Kenan's ancestors had, prior to and during the Revolutionary period, been among the leaders of the Cape Fear, fighting for independence.

Eliminating mere political, partisan feeling, and viewing the past, in the historic spirit, it is difficult to understand how the men who dominated the counsels of the Federal government and formulated national legislation, half a century ago, were so ignorant of the history of this State, and the genius of its people, as to suppose that they could, except with rifles and bayonets, establish and maintain a government for them not of their own choosing. The student of our history is not surprised to find that the effort to do so resulted in a condition of which, at its conclusion, the President of the United States, referring to this and other Southern States, March 4, 1877, said:

> The people are still impoverished, and the inestimable blessing of wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government is not fully enjoyed. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the cause of this condition of things, the fact is clear that in the progress of events the time has come when such government is the imperative necessity required by all the varied interests, public and private, of those States. But it must not be forgotten that only a local government which recognizes and maintains inviolate the rights of all is a true government. * * * The question which we have to consider for the immediate welfare of those States of the Union is the question of government or no government, of social order and all the peaceful industries and the happiness that belong to it, or a return to barbarism. It is a question in which every citizen of the Nation is deeply interested, and with respect to which we ought not to be, in a partisan sense, either Republicans or Democrats, but fellow-citizens and fellowmen to whom the interests of a common country and a common humanity are dear.

Students and writers of our history have, with striking agreement, fixed the year 1877, as the end of so-called "reconstruction" and the beginning of an era of growth and upbuilding of the Southern States, not upon new foundations, but upon a restoration to power and responsibility of those who represented all that was best of the "old order."

Mr. Bryce, discussing conditions following the Civil War, says:

> The solution of these problems occupied twelve eventful years and constitutes one of the most intricate chapters in American history.

Following a narrative of the events of this period, he says:

> The old principle of leaving the States to themselves gained more and more upon the popular mind. * * * The feeling, always strong in America, was that every community to which self-government has been granted must be left to itself to work out its own solution. * * * The end came in 1876-77.[1]

[1] *The American Commonwealth*, II, 479-80.

Mr. Rhodes, our latest and, in many respects, our best historian, when he reaches the year 1877, in his narrative, says:

> With their resumption of home rule, the first step in the process by which intelligence and property gained the control of affairs in all of the Southern States that had joined the Confederacy, my history fitly ends.

Prof. Beard opens the first chapter of his "Contemporary American History," with the year 1877, and the title "The Restoration of White Dominion in the South."

In discharging the duty kindly imposed upon me by the State Literary and Historical Association of presenting, briefly, a study of the "Rebuilding of North Carolina," the relation borne to it, and the services rendered to the State, by Thomas Jordan Jarvis, I avoid the use of the language of partisan politics. I do not quote from the partisan literature of that period. It is not consistent with the purposes of the Association, to perpetuate sectional or racial enmities, or unnecessarily recall unhappy political events. In a representative democracy, as ours, it is, however, impossible to separate its social, industrial, educational and economic, from its political history. The conservation of law and order, the enactment of laws, the expression of its thoughts and its aspirations, are so intimately blended with the opinions and conduct of political leaders and political organizations, that reference to one is essential to an intelligent study of the other. It has been wisely said:

> There is probably no better test of the political genius of a nation than the power which it possesses of adapting old institutions to new wants. * * * It is difficult to overestimate its importance. It is the institutions of a country that chiefly maintain its organic unity, its essential connection with the past. By their continuous existence they bind together, as by a living chain, the past with the present, the living with the dead.

It is, for the purpose of this paper, neither necessary nor appropriate, to enquire into the motives of the National Statesmen of 1867-77, but it would be impossible to understand the work of those who, in 1877, as leaders and exponents of the will of the people, began the work of rebuilding North Carolina, without reference to the conditions by which they were confronted, and with which they were called upon to deal. It is, for this purpose only, that we recall the description of these conditions, as we find them, not in the passionate rhetoric of political orators, or party organs, but in the well considered, sober words of those who spoke under a sense of authority and duty. The jury, which time empanels, has rendered its verdict upon the effort to build, in North Carolina, a new State, to create a new social and political fabric, to discard the genius, the spirit, the traditions and the aspirations of the fathers—and from this verdict, neither victor nor vanquished has ap-

pealed. The people of the State in November, 1876, by a large majority, called to the work of administering their government, Zebulon B. Vance, as Governor, Thomas J. Jarvis, as Lieutenant-Governor, Joseph A. Engelhard, as Secretary of State, John M. Worth, as Treasurer, Thomas S. Kenan, as Attorney-General, Samuel L. Love, as Auditor, and John C. Scarborough, as Superintendent of Public Instruction. The majority of the General Assembly and Judiciary was in accord with the views and purposes of the Executive Department.

It is not within the limits of this study to enter into details of existing conditions. In his Inaugural Address Governor Vance set forth, in vigorous language, the general conditions, and indicated clearly the spirit with which, and the ends for which, the new administration, interpreting the will of the people, would labor. He said:

> In assuming once more the government of our native State, we are reminded that with power comes responsibility. The deep wounds of the last fifteen years of war and misgovernment have inflicted upon her wounds still unhealed. Our public credit has been swept away; our educational fund has been destroyed; so far as in us lies, it is our bounden duty to remedy these things—to restore our public credit, to promote the regaining of our wealth, to educate the children of the State, to mitigate sectional and race animosities. In an especial manner, it is our duty to disabuse the minds of our black citizens of the false impressions which unscrupulous demagogues have instilled into them that we intend in any way to interfere with their chartered rights.

No citizen understood more clearly, or interpreted more correctly, the spirit and purpose of the people of North Carolina, nor did any possess more fully their confidence and affection. He had led them through the dark and sad years of Civil War, and the darker and sadder days of defeat and "reconstruction," and he had, at all times, and in all things, been loyal to himself and to them. His associates, while younger, had served the State with equal loyalty in war and in peace and stood ready to unite with him in the great work to which they had been called—showing to the victorious and distrustful section that the people of North Carolina of 1877 had inherited the spirit of the men of 1677 and 1777—that, "When left to take care of themselves, their government would be firm, humane and tranquil," and that "Good laws are but the arrangement of men in society in their just and natural relation." It was for the establishment of this truth that for two hundred years North Carolinians had, at all times, contended, and to the final settlement of the issue in North Carolina, they consecrated their minds and their hearts, on January 1, 1877.

To understand the situation, it is necessary to recall the past. While the State was a Military Division, in command of General Canby, with

his headquarters at Charleston, S. C., and under orders issued by him, in accordance with the act of Congress, a Convention had been called and a Constitution framed and, under the same conditions, ratified by such of the people as were permitted, by military officers, to vote. This Constitution went into effect August 1, 1868. In many very important respects, it worked radical changes in the system of State government, which had prevailed since 1776. A Convention held during the year 1875, submitted amendments to the people restoring, so far as was practical, the old system of local government. These amendments were ratified by a very large majority of the voters at the election held November, 1876, and became effective January 1, 1877. In his message to the General Assembly, Governor Vance recommended the enactment of such legislation as was contemplated by and would effectuate the amendments. Among the evils which the Constitution of 1868 had fastened upon the people of many of the counties, was incompetent and corrupt municipal and county governments. This had resulted in the creation of an enormous county indebtedness, the destruction of credit, inefficient administration of the affairs of the counties and cities of the State, with the social and industrial condition always produced by such government. The Legislature promptly changed the system and provided for the inauguration of honest, intelligent and efficient county government. The Governor made a number of recommendations concerning the promotion of public education, which had been sadly neglected. He recommended the establishment of Normal Schools for training teachers, submitting a memorial of the Teachers' Assembly. He also submitted, with his endorsement, the memorial of the Patrons of Husbandry, an association of the farmers of the State for the establishment of a Department of Agriculture. He made recommendations in regard to the public debt, which had been increased to an enormous extent by the issue of bonds, fraudulent in their inception and creation, and, to a very large amount, in violation of express constitutional restrictions; and he recommended the reduction of expenses and inauguration of economy. The several departments of the State Administration began, with marked intelligence and patriotic zeal, the work of clearing away the obstructions to the welfare of the people and the adoption of plans for its promotion.

In accordance with the unanimous wish and purpose of the dominant party, Governor Vance was, at the Session of 1879, elected by the General Assembly, United States Senator and, on the 4th of March, 1879, he was succeeded as Governor by Thomas J. Jarvis, who had been, while Lieutenant-Governor and President of the State Senate, in close and harmonious sympathy with the plans and measures of Governor Vance. Before entering upon a narrative of the Administration of Governor

Jarvis, it will be well to recall the important events and incidents in his life.

We learn, from the admirable sketch of Captain Samuel A. Ashe, that, among those who, in its early settlement, made their homes in Albemarle was Thomas Jarvis, who bought from the Indians a tract of land on the neck between Perquimans River and the Carolina Sound. In 1691, he was appointed by Governor Ludwell, the Governor of both the Carolinas, Deputy Governor and for several years discharged the duties of Governor of the Province. Descended from him, through several generations, was Rev. Bannister H. Jarvis, a minister of the Methodist Church. His son, Thomas Jordan Jarvis, was born January 18, 1836, at Jarvisburg, Currituck County. Captain Ashe says:

> His father's circumstances being straitened, the son did not enjoy the advantages of an early education; but after attending the county schools in boyhood, being determined to improve himself, when nineteen years of age he entered Randolph-Macon College (then located near Boyton, Virginia), and with money earned by teaching at intervals and through the assistance furnished by Mr. John Saunderson, he completed his course there in 1860, receiving the degree of A.M. On graduation he opened a school in Pasquotank County, where he was engaged in teaching in the spring of 1861 when the Civil War came on.

Like the large majority of the young men of the State, when the State seceded and Lincoln called for troops to coerce the other States, he promptly enlisted in the military service. By his courage, constancy and devotion to duty he soon secured promotion to the command of his Company in the Eighteenth North Carolina Regiment. He served in many of the battles in Virginia and North Carolina, displaying, at all times, a heroism, fortitude and endurance not surpassed by any of his comrades. At the battle of Drewry's Bluff, May, 1864, he was severely wounded in his right arm, which permanently disabled him for active duty. He was confined in the hospital when General Lee surrendered, and was paroled May, 1865.

Without means, and disabled by his shattered arm to perform manual labor, he procured credit and opened a small country store, in the meanwhile, beginning the study of law. He was elected, by the people of his native county, a delegate to the Convention, called in 1865, by President Johnson. Having obtained his license to practice his profession, June, 1867, he removed to Columbia, in Tyrrell County, and was elected a member of the General Assembly of 1868. In that body he acted with Major John W. Graham, Plato Durham, James L. Robinson and the few other Democratic members, in strenuous opposition to the financial and partisan measures of the majority. The Democrats having secured a majority in both Houses of the General Assembly of

1870, Captain Jarvis was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. As such he became the chief director of legislation, and exerted a controlling influence on the destiny of the people of North Carolina. Later removing to Greenville, the county-seat of Pitt County, he devoted his attention to the practice of his profession, giving, however, at all times, his services to the people. He was a candidate for Elector on the Greeley ticket, 1872. He was a member of the Convention of 1875, and to his prudent management was chiefly due the power of the Democrats to organize and control that body, which was evenly divided between the two parties. As we have seen, he was elected Lieutenant-Governor and, succeeding Governor Vance, became Governor of the State, March 4, 1879.

The administration of Governor Vance, followed by Governor Jarvis, found that the public debt was far beyond the capacity of the State in her impoverished condition, to pay either principal or interest. Special tax bonds to the amount of $16,246,550.10, issued by the Convention and Legislature of 1868, were outstanding for which the State had received but little benefit. A portion of them was declared by the Supreme Court to be invalid, and all of them were later repudiated as fraudulent and void. No interest had been paid upon the valid debt contracted for the construction of railroads prior to the Civil War. It was impossible for the State to take any step forward until some adjustment of this debt was made. To this essential undertaking, the administration and the Legislature gave prompt and earnest attention. The State University had been closed from 1868 until 1875 when, with the very limited means within the power of the State to extend aid, it was reopened. The stock which the State held in several railroads, constructed prior to the war, was sold and the proceeds wasted, or worse, by those in power during the reconstruction period. The stock owned by the State in the North Carolina Railroad Company had been sequestered by the Federal Court, was in the hands of a receiver and the road leased for a long period. Large sums had been expended and bonds were outstanding for the construction of the Western Railroad, but a large part of the bonds had been wasted or misappropriated, and the road was still unfinished.

Although the Democratic Party was committed to the completion of this great work of internal improvement, much opposition had arisen in the eastern section of the State to further expenditure of money, or issue of bonds, for that purpose. It became manifest that the cost of completion of the Western North Carolina Railroad, with the difficulties to be overcome in crossing the mountains, would impose a burden upon the tax payers which, in the then financial condition of the people, would

continue to create and intensify opposition. During the winter of 1879 Governor Jarvis received a proposition from certain Northern capitalists, to purchase the State's interest in the road and to complete its construction. After giving to the proposition careful consideration, with the advice of his counsel, he decided to call the General Assembly together in Special Session and submit the question to its members whether the sale should be made. To this end he issued his proclamation. On March 15, 1880, the members convened for the purpose indicated. The question of making the sale excited very great interest. Public opinion was divided and the opposing forces entered upon the discussion with intense interest and some feeling. The Governor, in his message, set forth clearly the condition with which the State was presented, together with a draft of the proposition which had been carefully considered and the State's interest safeguarded, by Messrs. George Davis and Thomas Ruffin, two of the most eminent citizens and lawyers of the State. The proposition was accepted by the General Assembly and, although the original contractors were unable to perform their obligations, others took up the work and it was completed.

Many years after the construction of the Western North Carolina Railroad was completed, and it had ceased to be a subject of discussion, Governor Jarvis set out in a letter his reasons for urging upon the Legislature the sale of the Western North Carolina Railroad. Giving an account of the policy which the State had pursued in contributing aid by issuing bonds, and appropriating money to the construction of railroads, and the necessity for continuing this policy unless the road was sold, he writes:

I knew that to sell it meant to reverse the State's policy, but this was just what I wanted to do. I wanted to divorce the State from her works of internal improvement and turn her energies in the direction of the development of her resources and in the education of the children. I determined on a policy of letting private capital and enterprise build the railroad, and then let the State take up those things which belonged more particularly to the function of government. When I determined to sell the Western Road I also determined to close, if possible, every avenue of failure. It was my desire and purpose to sell the property under conditions that would secure its completion and that would leave behind the sale a public sentiment which would uphold what I had done. I studied the situation. I called the board of directors of the road in session in Raleigh, and they advised me to spurn the offer and go on with the work of building. A number of strong men camé out in violent opposition; many of the public men of the State were silent and waiting. I knew I had to fight them and many others of less force and influence, and still I was determined upon the policy of selling the road and reversing the policy of the State. My ever-source of wisdom and power was Col. William L. Saunders. I went over the whole situation with him. He and I concluded that two of the ablest, purest, most powerful and

most unselfish men in the State were George Davis, of Wilmington, and Thomas Ruffin, of Hillsboro. I telegraphed these two gentlemen to come to Raleigh. They promptly came.

He says that he explained to them the situation, that he wished the State to cease building railroads and go into the building of schoolhouses. After describing the service rendered by these gentlemen, for which they refused to accept any compensation, "not even the payment of their hotel bills," he says:

At the next regular session of the Legislature the State road from Fayetteville to Gulf was sold to a North Carolina syndicate, and this road was soon extended to Bennettsville, S. C., to Wilmington, N. C., and to Mount Airy via Greensboro. With the sale of the Western North Carolina Railroad the State's policy was completely reversed, and from that day the State has put no money in railroads, but has encouraged railroad building by individual capital and enterprise. Having taken the State out of railroad building I took up the work of building schoolhouses and making exhibitions of the State's resources and inviting capital into the State. That policy has since become the fixed policy of the State.

In his message to the Legislature he gives the report of the President of the road, with the estimated cost of its completion, saying:

The time required to build and equip these two lines (from Asheville to Paint Rock and to Ducktown) under existing laws he estimates to be thirty years; and this estimate supposes that every dollar of the annual appropriations be paid by the State and used for that purpose.

The wisdom of the course pursued by Governor Jarvis, in dealing with this great interest of the State, is not open to discussion. The road was completed; other roads to which the State was contributing aid have also been finished and many miles of new railroads built; public schoolhouses and other State institutions for carrying on the work of public education have been established, and are now contributing to the work of educating the children of the State.

Governor Jarvis was elected, at the November election of 1880, for a full term of four years, beginning January 1, 1881. In his Inaugural he discussed the conditions existing and outlined the policy which he would pursue, saying: "Were I to formulate them in one sentence, it would be 'North Carolina—the development of her resources, and the education of her children.'"

In his message to the General Assembly, referring to the work of settling the State debt, he says: "The persistent efforts of Dr. Worth, the State Treasurer, to get our State debt adjusted, has had its reward." Old bonds to a large amount had been redeemed and new bonds issued in settlement. Among other recommendations, he urged the erection of a new Supreme Court building which was provided for by the Legisla-

ture of 1885; the building of a Governor's Mansion, which he lived to see completed; the codification of the Statute law of the State, resulting in the Code of 1883, by a Commission composed of W. T. Dortch, John Manning and John S. Henderson. He successfully urged the enlarging of the work and promoting the efficiency of the Department of Agriculture. As an illustration of his foresight and his courage in assuming responsibility, he saw an opportunity for acquiring for the use of the Department, a building and location, and without legislative authority he contracted for the purchase of the property used for that purpose and upon which the Supreme Court Building was subsequently erected, and his action was ratified by the General Assembly at the next session. This property is of inestimable value to the State. The Western State Hospital at Morganton, and the Eastern Hospital for the colored insane at Goldsboro were built. Pressing upon the Legislature the duty of providing for and inviting immigration and promoting public education, Governor Jarvis said:

> He who loves his State cannot reflect without a feeling of pain upon the fact that of the 32,005,000 acres, or thereabouts, within the borders of the State a little less than one-half lies unimproved. And the fact even more painful meets us in our survey of the State—the fact that so large a proportion of children of the State are growing up without the advantage of public education. In these facts lie the weakness of our Commonwealth, and to these it behooves us to direct our attention. No scheme for the advancement of North Carolina and the development of her resources can be successful or permanent which does not encompass the education of her children. This I regard as of the very first importance, for without it all of our efforts will be in vain. Capital, proverbially timid, will not look for investment in a land of ignorance, nor will emigrants seek homes where there are no schoolhouses and churches.

Governor Jarvis was deeply impressed with the duty of the State to provide for the welfare and promote the education of the colored people of the State. He regarded this as a duty which should not and could not, without imperiling the welfare of the State, be neglected. In his message of 1881, he said:

> I regard it as an imperative duty, from which the whites cannot escape, to see that in all things full and exact justice is done the blacks, and that they are not left alone to work out their destiny. They are entitled by many binding considerations to receive aid and encouragement from the whites in their efforts to be better men and women, and I have no doubt will receive it.

He not only advocated generous and just treatment to them in all respects, but actively promoted every effort made for their welfare. After the election of 1898, when feeling was aroused against the negroes on account of the course pursued by them, as a race, and propositions

were advanced for so amending the Constitution that the public school taxes should be divided between the races in the proportion in which each race contributed, he wrote me, as a member of the Legislature, November 16, 1898:

> While I am in favor of making it impossible for the negro to govern, I am not in favor of making a heathen of him to live in our midst. To say that no money shall be appropriated to negro schools except what the negro pays is practically to say that he shall have no schools, and that the negro children are to grow up as heathens in a so-called Christian land. I am opposed to any such policy * * * The matter is giving me no little concern.

In his message to the General Assembly of 1883, he discussed and recommended a number of measures for the promotion of all of the public interests. Foreseeing the necessity for, and wisdom of, providing a commission with power to adjust differences between the people and the railroads, he recommended the establishment of such a commission, saying:

> There ought not to be any conflict between the railroads and the people. The true interests of both, when properly understood, in my opinion, go hand in hand.

During the closing year of Governor Jarvis's administration, an Exposition was held in Raleigh, remaining open during six weeks, exhibiting the remarkable progress which had been made in the agricultural, mechanical and industrial life of the people.

At the election of 1884 the people, by an unprecedented majority, expressed their approval of the administration of their State government. In his message to the General Assembly of 1885, referring to the conclusion of his service as Governor, being under the Constitution ineligible for reëlection, Governor Jarvis said:

> This is the last message it will ever be my privilege to communicate to the Legislature of the State, and I trust it will not be considered inappropriate for me to express to the people of North Carolina, through you, their representatives, the deep obligation I am under to them. By their will, I have for six consecutive years filled the highest office within their gifts. In all things I have tried to administer the great trust solely in their best interests.

The work of commuting and settling the debt had been successfully prosecuted. The credit of the State had been established. Under the wise and aggressive administration of Hon. J. C. Scarborough with the active and sympathetic coöperation of the Governor, the work of public education had made great progress. By reason of the amount paid into the State Treasury, on account of the sale of the Western North Carolina Railroad, and the economical administration of the State govern-

ment, the condition of the Treasury at the conclusion of the administration of Governor Jarvis, was more than satisfactory. The Treasurer's report showed a balance of $947,068.56, of which $926,086.98 was available for current expenses. Nearly ten million dollars of the valid bonded indebtedness had been compromised, for which $2,803,796.25 new bonds had been issued. Peace and prosperity prevailed, the laws were administered, and justice, tempered by moderation, enforced by the Courts, the relations between the white and colored races were friendly, based upon mutual confidence. Dr. Kemp P. Battle, President of the State University, at the commencement of 1884, paid a high tribute to the fidelity of Governor Jarvis, as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, saying: "To him we owe more than any other man, our railroad, our Memorial Hall and pecuniary aid in times of desperate need." The Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him as "an officer of enlightened views generally, and an especial advocate of higher education." Acting upon the recommendation of Governor Jarvis, and his successor, Governor Scales, the Legislature of 1885 voted the increased appropriation for the maintenance of the University asked for. It was impossible, during the eight years of the administrations of Governor Vance and Governor Jarvis to do more than remove many of the obstructions to the development of the State and its upbuilding, which four years of Civil War and ten years of mis-called reconstruction government had created, and to lay the foundations for rebuilding. That this was done with a broad vision of the future and ardent patriotism is demonstrated by the continued growth of the State, in "the development of her resources and the education of her children," the two principal objects for which, in his first Inaugural, the Governor pledged his best efforts.

Governor Jarvis was wise in the selection of those whom he called to his aid in the administration of the affairs of the State. A large majority of those who, in both public and private station, served wisely and well in the upbuilding of the State and promotion of the welfare of the people, during those years, have passed away. Some survived to share with him the joy which comes from successful service. In the mutation of the State's life and progress, the conflicts of personal and political interests, justice has not always been done them and their work. In a democracy, with its freedom of thought and speech, the criticism of men and measures essential to growth and security of the larger things, this is the fate of all men who serve the State. Those who do so with courage and fidelity must, at times, withstand the people, and submit to criticism, sometimes ignorantly and, at other times, unjustly, being content to await the vindication of their motives and conduct which always

comes with larger light and clearer vision. As said by Governor Vance, in the opening sentence of his Inaugural, smarting under the wrongs which had been done to the people of the State: "There is retribution in history," there is likewise final judgment—the sober second thought of the people which recognizes unselfish, wise and patriotic public service, courageously performed. The motives and conduct of these men will be better known, and, with larger knowledge, will come just judgment and generous appreciation.

No man understood this, or with more confidence and stronger assurance of the ultimate vindication of his work, was more content to wait, than Thomas J. Jarvis. He left the Executive office January 1, 1885, after eight years of service, with no more material wealth than when he enlisted in the army of the State as a soldier in 1861. Recognizing his capacity for service and his wisdom in dealing with men and affairs, President Cleveland tendered to Governor Jarvis the position of Ambassador to Brazil. This position he filled for four years, with entire satisfaction to both governments. Upon his return to North Carolina, although well advanced in life, after twelve years withdrawn from the study of the law, he resumed the practice of his profession and by industry and diligent study of the Reports of the Supreme Court and the statute law, he became a well informed, successful lawyer. Upon the death of Senator Vance, April, 1894, he was tendered by Governor Carr, the appointment of United States Senator. Together with Senator Ransom he represented the State, in the Senate, until March 4, 1895. The opposition parties having a majority in the Legislature, he was not a candidate for election. His short term of service was during the stormy days of Mr. Cleveland's second administration, when the Wilson-Gorman tariff bill and the silver question were disrupting the Democratic party and the discontent incident to the depression in the agricultural interests of the South, produced a political revolution. Governor Jarvis, with many of those who had engaged in the work of rescuing the State from the evils of reconstruction, retired from official life. For the last twenty years of his life, although neither seeking nor holding office, he continued as a private citizen to enjoy in ever increasing measure, the confidence and esteem of the people. He was deeply interested in and never failed in every way in his power to contribute to the promotion of their highest interests. He took part in the discussion of questions in which the people were interested, especially those pertaining to the advancement of the cause of public education. In the prohibition campaign he made a number of strong, convincing and practical addresses. He was frequently called into the councils of his party, presiding over

its Conventions and in all ways contributing to the promotion of its measures and policies.

Capt. Samuel A. Ashe, the best informed citizen of the State regarding the men and events of those years, speaking in the light of the present, says:

I was entirely conversant with the State's affairs during Governor Jarvis' administration. No other Governor of the State has ever served the people more efficiently than he did. It was his fortune to be called to the administration when public sentiment and thought were in a formative state, and he pursued a bold policy of development and progress with intelligence, with boldness, with energy and rare ability, and with a sense of the responsibility of his high office. He had the opportunity and he used it. He was successful on every line, and the progress of the State in material and educational development while he was at the helm was beyond all expectation. His administration was the most brilliant in performance and the most satisfactory in results of any in the history of the State. He accomplished more for the general welfare in promoting educational advancement, increasing industrial facilities, and in establishing general prosperity, contentment and happiness in the homes of the people than it has been the good fortune of any other Governor to do.

Senator Overman, for a year his Private Secretary, writes:

I had not known Governor Jarvis except as a public man. I barely knew him personally when accepting the position with Governor Vance. I soon came to love him as a brother for his uniform kindness to me and to everybody, for his open-heartedness, his candor, his sincerity, and his kindly consideration for all men, great and humble alike. I admired him for his intense patriotism and love for his State and his people. I respected him for his great patience under the most trying circumstances. I admired him for his great wisdom, common sense, and the wonderful courage shown on all occasions in carrying out what he conceived to be the best interest of the people and the State. I have often seen him sitting in the executive office alone, meditating on matters of great importance to the State and those things which would promote the welfare of the people. The measures which he initiated and brought to a conclusion have been of lasting benefit to the State.

Referring to his determination, against opposition, to have the State represented at the Boston Exposition, Senator Overman says:

I doubt whether anything was done during that period of our history which did more to bring the State to the front. The display of our products there, and the reception given to him and his staff, opened the eyes of the people of New England as to the resources of North Carolina. It not only made the State respected abroad, but brought millions of dollars here for investment. * * * It was the controlling purpose of his administration to awaken an enthusiastic sentiment for the education of all the people, to promote industrial enterprises, to encourage railroad building, to provide for the enlargement of our charitable institutions, and to lift our people out of

their impoverished condition. With this intense patriotism and untiring energy and zeal, he initiated many of those measures which he lived to see ripen into a glorious reality.

The work to which he devoted the last years of his life, with the enthusiasm of youth, the mature judgment of middle life, and the affection of old age was the establishment and maintenance of the East Carolina Teachers' Training School at Greenville. This institution was the object of his love and labor. It was the realization of the visions of his young manhood and the culmination of his life work. To those who visited him in his home and accompanied him on a visit to that institution, without which he regarded the day as incomplete, it was a joy to witness his enthusiastic ardor and his all-absorbing affection. His wise counsel and words of encouragement to teachers and pupils were inspiring. He gave to its welfare freely of his thought, his time and service. He was permitted to see the accomplishment of the object which as Governor he declared to be the dominant purpose of his life—"the development of the resources, and the education of the children of North Carolina."

In laying the foundations upon which the broken fortunes of the people of North Carolina were to be restored, and their prosperity rebuilt, so many of those called into service performed their part so wisely that their memories will be held in sacred regard without comparison or rivalry of merit. Of Governor Jarvis it may be truly said that he was in his mental and moral characteristics, his standards of public and private life, peculiarly representative of the genius of the people of the State. He was, in no sense, a radical, nor was he, in the usual sense of the word, a reformer. He placed a correct estimate upon the value of the teachings and experiences of the past, he never sought to break away from them, or to build upon other foundations. He was intensely democratic in the largest sense of the term; he had as much confidence in the patriotism, virtue and ultimate wisdom of the people as Jefferson, and yet he recognized the truth that the efficiency and safety of a democracy lay in its representative character and the wisdom of its leaders. To him the law was the expression of the will of the people, speaking through and under the limitations of a written constitution. He was progressive in the adaptation of the lessons taught by experience, to the demands of new conditions and the promotion of the happiness and welfare of the people. In fundamentals he was always conservative. He was, in all things and at all times, optimistic as all men are whose lives are grounded in faith in God and man. His manner of life was simple and free from affectation. He recognized, in the growth of the State, the importance of and necessity for the develop-

ment and conservation of her material resources, the prosperity and financial credit of her people, regarding them as agencies for promoting physical comfort and welfare. He did not fail to recognize and enforce the primary truth that their real strength and permanent happiness were found not upon that which they had, but that which they were, that their fathers had laid the foundations of their character in being and not seeming to be; that material wealth counted for but little and lasted but for a day unless those who made or inherited it possessed personal integrity and practiced those virtues which illustrate and express patriotism, love of home, purity of life, justice, obedience to law and observed the sacred relationships of life. Recognizing the value of material, mental and political forces, in the growth of the State, he well knew that the foundation of the State must, if it is to be secure and lasting, "be laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit; in simple habits, in courage, in uprightness and self sacrifice, in a certain soundness and moderation of judgment, which springs quite as much from character as from intellect." By precept and example he ever kept these truths to the forefront and impressed their primary importance upon the people.

He held, with unquestioning faith, to the belief that the Constitution of the Republic, while not perfect in its details, was the people's charter and their ark of safety. He belonged to the school of strict constructionists which holds, and teachers, that where civil and religious liberty, or the protection of personal rights are involved, the limitations upon power are to be sacredly observed, while in matters of administration the necessity for growth and development to meet new conditions must be recognized. He was, as Fiske says of Jefferson, a "Conservative Reformer." While in those things which made for the education and uplift of the people, he was an optimistic enthusiast, he was never a theorist or doctrinaire. The cast of his mind was practical in its method of dealing with and working out plans and problems of government. He wrought for results by methods consistent with and conservative of principles.

He held, with unswerving fidelity and integrity to the religious faith of his fathers. For many years he was a consistent, active member of the Methodist Church, giving of his means liberally and of his time and wisdom, without measure. He was frequently a member of the councils of the church, local and general.

Governor Jarvis was, in December, 1874, happily married to Miss Mary Woodson, daughter of Judge John Woodson, of Virginia. On June 17, 1915, in the eightieth year of his earthly life, he fell upon sleep and rested from the labors of his long, honorable and useful life.

The people of the State, without regard to race, party, or creed, gave prompt and sincere expression to their appreciation of his service, his example, and of their affectionate esteem. In his will, giving to his wife, to whom he referred as "my constant companion and chief object of my affection" his entire estate, he says: "Intelligence and virtue mark the standing of any people in the State and nation, and I would therefore urge the people to press the education of their children far beyond anything heretofore attempted." That North Carolina has steadily advanced in all of those things which secure the educational, moral, social and material welfare of a modern American State—conservatively progressive and progressively conservative—holding fast, in essentials, to the teaching and example of the fathers, the adaptation of their best thought and reflection to the welfare of the sons, growing in population, wealth, education and the happiness of her people, is due in no small measure, to the patriotism and wisdom of the men of 1876, and of these, Thomas Jordan Jarvis stood in the forefront.

North Carolina Bibliography, 1915

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

ALBERTSON, Catherine Seyton (Elizabeth City, N. C.).
In ancient Albemarle; published by the N. C. Society Daughters of the Revolution; illustrated from drawings by Mabel Pugh. D. 170 p. Commercial Printing Co. (Dec.) 1914. $1.25.

BAILEY, Waldron. In the heart of the Blue Ridge.

BRIGGS, Thomas Henry (Professor at Columbia University).
Formal English grammar as a discipline. (*Teachers College Record*, Vol. 14, No. 4.) O. 93 p. il. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913. Pap. 30 cents.
Laboratory manual of letters. S. 94 p. Ginn, 1914, 25 cents.

COON, Charles L. (Superintendent of schools, Wilson, N. C.)
North Carolina schools and academies, 1790-1840; a documentary history. O. 846 p. Edwards & Broughton, 1915. Gratis. (Publications of the N. C. Historical Commission.)

DIXON, Thomas (Novelist and playwright. Born at Shelby, N. C., now living in New York City).
Foolish Virgin. Appleton (Sept.), 1915. $1.35 net.

DODD, William Edward. (Born at Clayton, N. C. Professor American History, University of Chicago since 1908.)
Expansion and conflict (Riverside history of the U. S., Vol. 3). D 329 p. Houghton, 1915. $1.75 n.; school ed. $1.25 net.

ERSKINE, Payne (Mrs. Charles Edwin Erskine). Well-known author. Born in Wisconsin, living at Tryon, N. C.
Girl of the Blue Ridge. D. 401 p. Little. (Apr.) 1915. $1.35 net.

FOERSTER, Norman (University of North Carolina).
Outlines and summaries; a handbook for analysis of expository essays. O. 105 p. Holt, 1915. Pap. 35 cents net.

FULTON, Maurice Garland, ed. (Professor Davidson College).
College life; its conditions and problems; a selection of essays for use in college writing courses. D. 524 p. Macmillan (Nov.), 1914. $1.25 net.

GREENLAW, Edwin, ed. (Professor University of N. C.).
Familiar Letters; edited with introducton and notes. Scott-Foreman, 1915.

HARPER, William Allen (President Elon College).
Making of men. D. 173 p. Christian Pub. Assn. (May), 1915. 75 cents.

Heck, Fannie E. S. (Well known and greatly beloved church worker and club woman who died in Raleigh, August, 1915.)

Everyday gladness D. 93 p. Revell (Sept.), 1915. 50 cents net.

Heck, William Harry (Professor of Education, University of Virginia, since 1905.)

Studies of mental fatigue in relation to the daily school program. Ed. 2. O. 38 p. Bell, 1914. Gratis.

Henderson, Archibald. (Well known author. Professor University of N. C. since 1908.)

Modern drama and opera; reading lists on the works of various authors. Vol. 2: Introduction, "The Drama in America" and the bibliographies by Archibald Henderson. (Useful reference series, No. 13.) O. 255 p. Bost. Book Co. (July), 1915. $2.00.

O. Henry; a memorial essay. 32 p. Mutual Pub. Co. (Dec.), 1914. 60 cents.

Kephart, Horace, ed. (Born in Pennsylvania, but now living in Bryson City, N. C. Winner of the Patterson Cup in 1913.)

Captives among the Indians; first-hand narratives of Indians wars, customs, tortures and habits of life in colonial times. (Outing adventure Library, No. 3.) D. 240 p. Outing Pub. Co. (Feb.), 1915. $1.00 net.

Castaways and Crusoes; tales of survivors of shipwreck in New Zealand, Patagonia, Tobago, South seas, etc. (Outing Adventure Library No. 2.) D. 294 p. Outing Pub. Co. (Feb.), 1915. $1.00 net.

Knight, Edgar W. (Department of Education, Trinity College.)

Some principles of teaching. Pilgrim press, 1915. 75 cents.

Morley, Margaret Warner. (Well known author born in the middle West now living at Tryon, N. C.)

Apple tree sprite. D. il. McClurg, 1915. $1.10 net.

Nash, L. L. (Hamlet, N. C.)

Christian family. 24 p. Mutual Pub. Co., 1915. 50 cents.

Poe, Clarence. (Author and editor.)

How farmers coöperate and double profits; first hand reports on all the leading forms of rural coöperation in the U. S. and Europe—stories that show how farmers coöperate by showing how they have done it and are doing it. D. 244 p. por. Judd, 1915. $1.50 net.

Poteat, William Louis. (President Wake Forest College since 1905.)

New peace; lectures on science and religion. D. 150 p. Badger, 1915. $1.00 net.

Riddle, C. B. (Elon College.)

Trailing the truth. D. 88 p. Southern Christian Pub. Co., 1914.

SMITH, Major W. A.
Anson guards; Company C., Fourteenth Regiment, North Carolina volunteers 1861-1865. D. 368 p. por. Stone Pub. Co., 1914.

SPRUNT, James. (Wilmington.)
Chronicles of the Cape Fear River; being some accounts of historic events on the Cape Fear River. Edwards & Broughton, 1914.

Studies in Southern History and Politics; inscribed to William Archibald Dunning . . . by his former pupils, the authors. O. 394.p. Columbia Univ. press., 1914. $2.50 net.
Two of the 16 chapters are written by North Carolinians. Dr. William K. Boyd deals with the subject, "Some Phases of Educational History in the South" and Dr. J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton with "Southern Legislation in respect to Freedom."

TIERMAN, Mrs. Frances Christine Fisher (Christian Reid, pseud.), Salisbury, N. C.
Far-away princess. D. 406 p. Devin-Adair, 1914. $1.35 net.

WEEKS, Stephen B. (Bureau of Education, Washington).
History of public education in Alabama. U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1915, no. 12.

REPRINTS.

COLTON, Elizabeth Avery (Professor of English, Meredith College).
The Junior College problem in the South.
Reprinted from the proceedings of the Twentieth Annual meeting of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States.

HENDERSON, Archibald.
The American drama. 10 p. Reprinted from the Sewanee Review, October, 1915.
Richard Henderson and the occupation of Kentucky (1775), 22 p.
Reprinted from *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Dec., 1914.
The South's awakening: being the annual address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Tulane University. 13 p.
Reprinted from the *Newcomb Arcade,* June, 1915.

KNIGHT, Edgar W. (Assistant Professor of Education, Trinity College.)
Peabody fund and its early operation in North Carolina.
Reprinted from *South Atlantic Quarterly.* Apr., 1915.
Some fallacies concerning the history of public education in the South.
Reprinted from the *South Atlantic Quarterly.* Oct., 1914.

CONTINUATIONS.

North Carolina Booklet, January-October, 1915:

Volume 14, No. 3. The Creative Forces in Westward expansion: Henderson and Boone, by Archibald Henderson.—The old North State (Carolina), by Mrs. Julia E. Cain.—The Contributions of North Carolina to the Development of American Institutions, by Simeon E. Baldwin.—Sir Walter Raleigh as a Poet, by Nina Hollands Covington.—Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda.

Volume 14, No. 4. The fisheries of Eastern Carolina, by William J. Leary, Sr.—Fiscal and economic conditions in North Carolina during the Civil War, by William K. Boyd.—Was Esther Wake a myth? by R. D. W. Connor.—Colonel John Hinton, by Mary Hilliard Hinton.—Biographical and Genealogical Memoranda.

Volume 15, No. 1. Edward Strudwick, surgeon, by Hubert A. Royster.—Grace Greenlee, a Revolutionary heroine, by William Carson Ervin.—Number of North Carolinians in the Revolutionary War.—Was Lederer in Bertie County?—Historical Book Reviews.—Biographical.

Volume 15, No. 2. Secretaries of the Navy: John Branch, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood.—Our pre-revolutionary printers, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks.—The First Fourth of July Celebration, by Adelaide Fries.

North Carolina Historical Commission:

North Carolina Manual, for the use of members of the General Assembly, session of 1915; compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. D. 356 p. Edwards & Broughton, 1915. Gratis.

North Carolina Year Book and Business Directory, 1915.

D. 496 p. map. *News and Observer,* 1915. $2.

James Sprunt Historical Publications, published under the direction of the N. C. Historical Society, edited by J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton and Henry M. Wagstaff. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina. Vol 13, No. 2.

State Normal and Industrial College.

Historical publications. No. 3.

Studies in Philology, published under the direction of the Philological Club of North Carolina. Vol. 12, Nos. 1-3.

Trinity College Historical Society.

Historical papers. Series 11.

The *South Atlantic Quarterly, North Carolina Education, Skyland,* the *North Carolina Library Bulletin, Social Service Bulletin,* and the publications of the various colleges and universities have been issued regularly during the year.

A State Art Commission

BY WILLIAM C. A. HAMMEL.

It has been said that great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts—the books of their words, the books of their deeds, and the books of their art; that not one of these books can be understood unless we read the other two, but of the three the only one quite trustworthy is the last—the books of their art.

Zealous for facts, history leaves no stone of research unturned that a nation's great events and great lives may be faithfully recorded in her book of deeds. Vibrant with truth, literature sings the spirit of the times and of men and writes the songs in her immortal book of words. Devout high-priestess of the ideal, art consecrates herself to perfection, "to the doing of all things as well as it is possible that they can be done." The books of art are carvings and sculptures, pillars and pediments, temples, highways, homes, and gardens and all great and humble things for the use and admiration of man. With chisel and anvil, with wheel and loom, art stamps upon the pages of her book the records of the nation's conception of enduring beauty.

It was an ideal stronger than that inspiring martial deeds of history that built and left to posterity the Pyramids, the palaces of the Incas, the Taj Mahal, the temples at Angkor Wat, the Venus of Milo, the Victory of Samothrace, the bronze doors of the baptistry at Florence, the vases of Pompeii, the tapestries of the Gobelins. The real glory that was Greece and the real grandeur that was Rome are still alive in the ideals which their crumbling remnants inspire. The written records of their civilizations may not always be incontestable, but the architectural relics of these civilizations tell a story that all the world may read.

Young and untutored, America has but just begun to write her autobiography. A brief past in a new traditionless land has left but few marks in any but her book of deeds. As historical societies take stock of these past accomplishments, a patriotic pride fires them to a laudable desire to mark the stepping stones of the nation's progress through deeds of prowess, to memorialize in some lasting visible form the men and the events that made the nation and builded the Commonwealth,

> "to set a votive stone
> That memory may their deed redeem,
> When, like our sires, our sons are gone."

And so has sprung up a veritable forest of monuments, statues, arches, and other memorial tributes. The nation's capital abounds in such me-

morials. State capitals everywhere view with pride these decorative features of the capitol grounds. Every battlefield, headquarters, birthplace, is already marked or awaits early recognition. Every little town that boasts a historic event or an authentic founder is thrilled with the enterprise of raising funds or donating sites for monuments. Patriotic societies everywhere claim it as their right as well as their sacred privilege to work themselves to death that their heroes may be deathless in the minds and hearts of the people.

But the result of all this beautiful patriotism has not always been a happy one for the equally worthy and equally immortal cause of art. Equestrian statues with tons of bronze horses balanced upon a flowing bronze tail, "rocking-horse Jacksons," frock-coated specimens of attempts at portraiture in bronze, marble effigies mercifully disintegrating day by day, symbolical groups that symbolize nothing but misspent money—these have increased and multiplied and filled our public squares and crowded round our public buildings, frightening us into remorse instead of thrilling us with admiration for the artist-brain that conceived them, with "solemn pride" in the men and deeds which they commemorate, and with impulses of undying patriotism.

The years of unrestrained freedom in the acceptance no less than in the bestowal of these well-meant honors to the distinguished dead, have left to the living public a large legacy of regrets and disappointments, and shocked it finally into protest, into a demand for protection in the future through some authorized legal means of regulating the design and the emplacement of all works of art destined to belong to the public or to be erected upon public grounds.

Many cities and a few of the states have already openly resented the debasement of public taste, and, through their city councils and legislatures, have taken refuge in the establishment of municipal and state art commissions whose duty it is to help prevent future mistakes by passing upon the design and the location of all such works of art before their acceptance.

One of the first of these commissions, which was established in a great city of the North, declared itself as "only heading off the dullness, the crudities, the vulgarities, and the monstrosities that worthy organizations, inspired by noble sentiments, but whose inspirations ended there, were continually foisting upon the city in localities that made the balefulness of the abortions so much the more conspicuous."

Frederick W. Coburn, an art critic of note, writes: "The memorial of patriotic achievement has not been expected to look its part of inspiration and aspiration. It has stood usually for the crassest philistinism, the negation of nobility. Factories, warehouses and business blocks

appear to be honest and dignified works of art by contrast with the cheap meretriciousness of the local soldiers' monument."

Writing editorially in the *Southern Woman's Magazine,* Anne P. Rankin deplores "that we could not have remembered in the midst of the hard days of poverty and tears that followed our great war that the history the South has made was deathless enough to wait for a saner and more serene time for the memorials we were to build to it. A monument once erected is persistently and inevitably permanent. There is something so deep and vital in the zeal and self-sacrifice that erect these tributes that we may not countenance the thought of laying violent hands on them however much they deface the landscape or harass the vision. And too often, alas! we have allowed our love and enthusiasm to outrun both pecuniary ability and good taste. Over and over again we have given both tears and toil to perpetuate in uncouth and cheap memorials a story that already of its own heroism and tragedy had builded for itself a monument more enduring than brass."

It is comforting to know that memorial art in the South is soon to be redeemed in some measure by the project of the Daughters of the Confederacy to memorialize the lost cause by depicting heroes and scenes of the war in colossal figures to be carved in the living rock on the sheer side of Stone Mountain near Atlanta. The Daughters have enlisted the services of Gutzon Borglum, one of America's most noteworthy sculptors, who outlines his scheme in a recent issue of the *Atlanta Constitution.* The artist is filled with enthusiasm over the plan and declares it the most wonderful thing in the world.

North Carolina could hardly have a stronger plea for the establishment of an art commission that might regulate memorial art than the argument voiced in these words of one of her most public-spirited citizens: "There is within a few hundred yards of where I write a monument to Our Confederate Dead which cost, I believe, $25,000 in 1895, or the equivalent of $50,000 now. The good women of the State with devotion and self-sacrifice that should have eventuated in a far more beautiful result, gave of their means and the men gave of theirs in a period of dire poverty, the spirit of it all being beautiful and touching. And what is the result? A mere pile of stone, which, I suppose, has never made anybody's heart beat faster or given any child a vision of the spirit, heroism and pathos of our Civil War period. And yet I doubt whether our people did not spend just as much money and give just as much labor of heart and hand to erect this memorial as the people of Switzerland gave when their efforts under the happier direction of a great artist-mind resulted in the creation of the unforgetable Lion of Lucerne, which has been the admiration of visitors from all

quarters of the earth and gives every one who sees it a poetic realization of the sublimity of the deeds it was meant to immortalize."

So from all sides come criticisms and protests.

You who have the historic monuments of the state in comprehensive array in your minds, review the occasions these monuments commemorate. Estimate, if you can, the sentiment, the labor, the hard-won subscriptions that erected them. How many of these memorials are worthy in any sense? Of how many could we pray with the poet of Concord—

> "Spirit, that made these heroes dare
> To die * * *
> Bid Time and Nature gently spare
> The shaft we raise to them and thee."

On the other hand, how many, could they have been foreseen by their heroes, would not have added "a new terror to death"?

Of those that are in themselves of artistic merit, how many stand in reposeful simplicity, in proper relation to their surroundings whether architectural or landscape background? How many produce that "unified impressiveness" which should belong to a public monument? Of the designers of these monuments how many had ever visited their sites or knew where or how their works were to be placed.

St. Gaudens, when the question of the site of that wonderful masterpiece dedicated to a Northern general was under consideration, "explored available ground in a passion of anxiety, and the one thing that he was forever urging was that the monument should be in some big quiet scene on a site spacious enough for him to be sure of a simple background." Such is the "passion of anxiety" of a great artist. No such anxiety has troubled us. All we have asked for usually is the most conspicuous place possible for our memorial—and, pity 'tis, we have usually got it.

If we had these things to do over again on limited resources would we not be content in most cases to place upon the site which we have appropriated, a tree, or a fountain to cheer dusty travelers and toilers, or choose, perhaps, a different site and dedicate it, in the name of our hero, to the sport and recreation of childhood, or at the most set up a simple tablet whose dignified inscription would tell all and more than an ill-wrought colossal bronze figure could do.

How well these words engraved upon the Nathanael Greene monument at Guilford Battle Ground tell the meaning of the monument. And how confidently, moreover, do they presuppose that the sculptor's work in bronze and marble is as soul-stirring as the words:

"A grateful nation erects this monument, as an expression of its solemn pride in the men who fought here, of its imperishable devotion to their memory, and of its unalterable confidence in the permanence of the principles which their example vindicated."

In our zeal for our cause and for its perpetuation "in eternal memory" we have gone so far ahead of our means and have so sadly fallen short of our ideals. We are "grand and gloomy and peculiar," and make monuments that are very big, very expensive, and yet not monumental after all.

What a long step forward it would be to our credit, to the glory of the departed, and to the advancement of memorial art in our country, if we could take to heart the suggestion of Royal Cortissoz: "It will be a fine day for American sculpture," he says, "when some sagacious committee, setting its face like flint against a full-length in bronze of the local patriot (whom he has never seen) to be set up on a mass of granite in a public square, will go to one of our sculptors and say to him, 'Put your imagination to work. Give us an image of beauty, embodying some interesting idea. Then let us consider together where it may best be placed, so that it will add to the happiness of the whole community, and you shall have your reward.'"

It is such "sagacious committees" as this that should have authority over all public art. Realizing this, four states and at least eighteen cities, and the Federal Government itself, have, since 1898, through their legislatures, through their city councils, and through Congress, established art commissions, which are varied in purpose and scope according to local needs, though their general function is practically the same in all cases.

Technically, the function of an art commission is to criticise, to act as a jury, to pass upon plans and designs submitted, but not to forecast or to take the initiative, as does for example a city planning commission. The power to visualize inheres in both, but the art commission must have power to visualize the result of the execution of a definite plan for a definite structure. It passes upon plans to be used immediately. It may reject any and all plans submitted, if not judged suitable, but it should have no power to prepare plans in place of those disapproved. It is critical in its attitude, not creative; a jury merely to approve or disapprove the æsthetic qualities of a design. Consideration of the cost of the work of art to be selected is not included in the functions of an art commission, though it has been found almost invariably that the commission's judgment effects an actual saving in dollars and cents.

Some idea of the individual reasons for being and of the scope and membership of art commissions already established may be gained from a brief account of a few of the characteristic commissions.

The first was the Boston Art Commission. Its establishment in 1898 grew out of the protest of an aroused public opinion against the placing of an inartistic statue in the Public Garden to commemorate the deeds of a Massachusetts hero of the War Between the States. The first matter submitted to the newly appointed commission was the removal of the stone image and the erection of a bronze work of art in its stead. It is strictly a municipal commission and has no jurisdiction over state buildings and state property within its borders. The five members must be citizens of Boston, and are appointed as follows: One from a list of three persons selected by the trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, one from a list of three persons selected by the trustees of the Boston Public Library, one from a list of three persons selected by the Boston Art Club, and one from a list of three persons selected by the Society of Architects.

The Boston laws seem to have become a model for other municipal commissions, and in a measure for state art commissions. They provide that no work of art shall become the property of Boston by purchase, gift or otherwise unless such work of art or the design for the same, together with a statement of the proposed location of the same shall first have been submitted to and approved by a majority of its members; and that no work of art shall, until so approved, be erected or placed in, over, or upon or allowed to extend in, over, or upon any street, avenue, square, place, common, park, municipal building or other public place under the control of said city or any department or officer thereof, and that no existing work of art in possession of said city shall be removed, relocated, or altered in any way without approval of said commission.

The term "work of art," as used in this act (and so accepted in all commissions) shall apply to and include all paintings, decorations, statues, bas-reliefs, sculptures, monuments, fountains, arches, ornamental gateways, and other structures of a permanent character intended for ornament or commemoration.

New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Charleston, Cleveland, Jersey City, and Newark, Los Angeles, Pittsburg, Denver, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Haven, Yonkers, Mount Vernon, N. Y., have practically the same laws as Boston, adapted to local conditions. The appointment of membership varies, some cities requiring that among the members shall be one sculptor, one painter, and one architect. In all, with the exception of Cleveland, the members of these art com-

missions serve without compensation. Cleveland's commission is, properly speaking, a city planning commission, with a director of public service, who employs three assistants at a salary of $5,000 each.

The gradual extension in the power and scope of these municipal commissions, due to manifestation of ability and efficiency, is instanced in the case of the Art Commission of the City of New York. From merely passing upon the designs of public buildings only at the mayor's request, it has now come to be required by law to pass upon all public buildings, and all private buildings, built on public land. In New York in 1910 the 179 submissions considered by the city art commission involved about $43,000,000. The small cost to the city for expert advice on these designs is out of all proportion to the magnitude of the benefit to the city. The total cost to the city of Philadelphia for its art commission in 1908, covering 45 submissions, amounting to over nine million dollars was less than $4,000.

The Federal Art Commission, or the National Commission of Fine Arts, is purely an advisory body, upon no condition is it supposed to take the initiative. It is composed of men not only of capability as artists but of wide reputation. It stands as the court of last resort in expert knowledge. Its duty is to advise upon the location of statues, fountains, and monuments in the public squares, streets, and parks of the District of Columbia, and upon the selection of models for statues, fountains, and monuments erected under the authority of the United States, and upon the selection of artists for the execution of the same.

In its first year the National Commission of Fine Arts had referred to it 45 cases, of which 41 were considered and disposed of, the total amount of money involved in these being $16,000,000. Among the more important of these submissions were the site for the proposed Lincoln Memorial (decided upon before the design for the memorial was accepted), the models for the monuments to John Paul Jones and Commodore John Barry, to be erected in Washington, the designs for the new buildings for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and Labor, for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Washington City Postoffice, as well as certain paintings privately recommended to Congress for purchase. The Government appropriates $10,000 annually for the use of this commission.

While municipal commissions are somewhat similar in their power and scope, the few state commissions established thus far exhibit more individuality of scheme.

The Art Commission of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts acts in an advisory capacity relative to the creation, acquisition, construction, erection, or removal of any work of art, and the artistic character of

any building contructed by the commonwealth upon lands owned by the commonwealth. The term building includes bridges, arches, gates, walls or other permanent structure. The members serve without compensation.

When the Massachusetts Legislature in 1910 appointed the State Art Commission it granted the power to all cities and towns in the state to establish commissions whenever desired, and the same act regulated the method of appointment and all details so that no difficulties or delay of organization would be necessary.

Connecticut has a State Capitol Commission of Sculpture, to which is referred all matters relating to the decoration of the capitol buildings and grounds with historical statues or works of art. It grants no compensations to members but appropriates $5,000 annually to be expended in the work of thus completing the exterior of the capitol building.

Minnesota, in its conception of the power, scope and functions of an art commission, is broader and more generous than any of the other states. The enactment of the law which twelve years ago made the commission effective was due to the efforts of the Federated Women's Clubs of Minnesota. The Minnesota State Art Commission has received state aid through an annual appropriation of $7,500, which, unfortunately, has been withdrawn this year, through the vagaries of politics. This fund has been augmented yearly by voluntary subscriptions and by the membership fees of the Minnesota State Art Society, of which the State Art Commission is the governing board. The membership of this governing board consists of nine members, seven of whom are appointed by the governor from lists of names proposed by the Fine Arts Society of Minneapolis, the Art Workers' Guild of St. Paul, and the Art Committee of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs. Four are artists or connoisseurs of art, one an architect, one prominently identified with education, and one directly interested in the manufactures.

The general object of this Commission is "to advance the interests of the fine arts, to develop the influence of art in education, and to foster the introduction of art in the manufactures." These it seeks to accomplish by sending out through the state, exhibitions of representative modern paintings, sculptures and applied art; by loaning or supplying collections of art prints and reproductions to schools, clubs and libraries; by sending experienced lecturers into all parts of the state; by coöperating with the State Library Commission in circulating traveling libraries of books relating to art; by publishing a magazine devoted to the individual, the home, and the community; by giving expert advice on designs

for civic centers, parks, town halls, school buildings, town plans, gardens and memorials; by developing and providing a market for industries—such as lace-making—founded upon the arts and crafts brought by many of her people from the old country.

One of the latest and most important of the activities of the Minnesota Art Commission is the Model Farm House Competition, opened to all architects and designers in the state. The commission invited farmers to formulate the requirements and specifications for an efficient farm house to cost $3,500. When all the plans had been submitted by competitors the award was made by a farmer, a teacher of home economics, and an architect. Cash prizes were awarded, the prize-winning designs and plans published, and placed at the service of any farmer wishing to build. The first prize model farm home, full size and completely furnished was one of the attractions at the State Fair this year. A model barn was built also and the State Forestry Department provided a model farmyard, showing plants and hardy foliage suitable for Minnesota. From one plan will be built on the grounds of the Agricultural College a farm house for which the students are to plan and carry out incidental decorations and furnishings, and the girl students will occupy the house in groups, making practical demonstrations of work in domestic science. Competitions for model city houses, village houses and bungalows have also been held.

While enriching the lives of her people by bringing to them the fine arts, Minnesota is at the same time instilling in them a sense of the art possible in common things, and is not overlooking the value of such art as an economic as well as an æsthetic asset of the state.

In 1913 a conference of members of all the then existing art commissions was held in New York. The time was spent in the consideration of "practical questions related to the proper functions and powers of art commissions and were directed not so much to the art commissions already existing, as to the art commissions still to be formed in the future for cities and states, in which their organization was beginning to be considered. The delegates gave their deliberations a practical result by farming proposed legislation for the organization of future art commissions both city and state."

The form of an act to establish a state art commission as thus framed practically covers, besides the power and scope of such a commission, all general matters relating to membership, compensation, employment, salary, and office of secretary, and expenses of the commission in the performance of official duties.

With the precedent of art commissions already in successful operation, and with model legislative plans framed by their representatives, it

wants but a step to the establishment of a State Art Commission in North Carolina. That step is the appointment by the State Literary and Historical Association of a legislative committee looking to the earliest possible legislative action.

It is most fitting that this movement should have its inception in the State Literary and Historical Association, because the state of North Carolina is rich, not only in men and events, both literary and historical, worth commemorating, but also in the sort of patriotism that seeks to commemorate them; because the sacrifices that must needs be made to effect these commemorations ought to be more worthily rewarded in the admiring regard and gratitude of future generations; and not least because the status, development and growth of a people are read as well in their works of art as in their written records.

Originated primarily to atone for the wrongs done in the name of patriotism and of art, and awake to the fact that a dead and gone hero is not the only reason for a work of art, the State Art Commission might eventually broaden its scope to have jurisdiction over the architecture and grouping of State buildings and the landscape architecture of their grounds; over water-fronts, parks, highways, bridges, and any other phase of public construction, whether utilitarian, ornamental, or commemorative.

There is abundant evidence in all the States of the need of regulation in the architecture of groups of State buildings, where in one group may appear as many different styles of architecture as there are single buildings, ranging from Romanesque to Moorish, from Colonial to craftsman, from conventional to nondescript.

In some of the earlier groups the purely functional, sincere plainness of the first buildings at least contributes to a dignified uniformity, its severity softened by the ancient arching trees. When into the midst of such a group is obtruded as an Alumnæ Memorial—save the mark—a gigantic assembly hall, whose acoustics are so faulty as to prevent the hall's being even functional, and whose architecture is the superlative of the anomalous and the ugly—the result is a tragedy that cannot be atoned for.

The University of Virginia is fortunate in having been able to carry out, in recently added buildings, plans in perfect harmony of architectural and landscape scheme with those of its noted founder.

The Johns Hopkins University has set an example in consistently modeling the architecture of all its group after the perfect specimen of the colonial style, found in the old manor house standing in the midst of Homewood estate, now the newly acquired campus.

And yet, only a few miles from the Hopkins has been erected a group of state buildings in an architectural style, and of a material, entirely unrelated to anything in the locality or in the state, the architect and the building committee missing a choice opportunity in art and economy to pattern the buildings after the majestic style of an old courthouse nearby, built many years ago of the stone from a local quarry, still in operation. A state art commission would have made a disinterested study of the case and have considered all artistic possibilities before plans were accepted, the contract given, and the buildings set as they are on a treeless plot on the side of the broad highway, when a sixty-acre grove of handsome trees was available on the same estate and would have furnished an ideal setting.

In time, North Carolina, with its great rural population, might, like Minnesota, come to claim the judgment of the state art commission in the planning of farm-homes. There is no reason why the farm-homes of today should not express as artistically the rural life of today as, on a more magnificent scale, Shirley, Brandon, and Mount Vernon express the plantation life of the unique civilization that characterized *ante-bellum* days.

Then, too, while waiting for new worlds to conquer, an art commission might profitably use its authority to preserve from destruction and to restore what is already of artistic merit, as the women of Salisbury have so wisely done in the case of the old courthouse, which they have taken over to use as a community building.

But at first it will be necessary and judicious to progress slowly. It is important first of all to get the public used to the idea of an art commission, so that the recognition of each new need for its service may find fruition in the sanction of the law-making body. And then again, at each new step the public must be carried along, must recognize the advantages gained—and the pace may not always be a rapid one.

After the State Art Commission has once been established much can be done to spread a knowledge of its existence and its duties by coöperation with the civic societies, women's clubs, teachers' associations, the patriotic societies, and other organizations working for betterment throughout the state. Even in its infancy the commission might be a clearing house for the art activities of the state, lending a helping hand in all pertinent matters, itself conferring, when necessary, with recognized artists outside its own membership, either within or without the state.

The all-important thing is to establish an art commission. Leslie W. Miller of the Philadelphia Art Jury, speaking before the National Conference of Art Commissions, before referred to, said: "I want you to

remember that it is not the way in which the commission is appointed, it is not in rules and regulations, or particular powers, that essentials are to be found. The essential thing is the recognition of the principle that it is the business of the public everywhere to recognize the principle that in the ordering of its public affairs, in the treatment of public places, in the construction of public buildings, and the erection of public monuments of every kind to see to it that from this time forward the artistic principle, the æsthetic aim, shall not be overlooked. That is the essential thing."

On whatever terms an art commission may be established, there is little doubt that the possibilities of ever-increasing advantage will become more and more apparent, and that the Art Commission of the State of North Carolina will prove itself an indispensable part of the government of the state.

Members, 1915-1916

ABERDEEN.
Henry A. Page.

AMPERE, N. J.
R. C. Petty.

ANSONVILLE.
Maj. W. A. Smith.

ASHEVILLE.
Junius G. Adams.
S. Westray Battle.
Col. R. Bingham.
Louis M. Bourne.
C. J. Harris.
F. R. Hewett.
Mrs. T. F. Malloy.
Julius C. Martin.
Normal and Collegiate Institute.
Haywood Parker.
Mrs. Chas. M. Platt.
Miss Florence Stephenson.
R. R. Williams.
Dr. George T. Winston.

ATLANTA.
Lindsey Hopkins.

AURORA.
Miss Lottie H. Bonner.

BALTIMORE, MD.
Bruce Cotten.

BARIUM SPRINGS.
William Laurie Hill.

BILTMORE.
Mrs. Arthur F. Rees.

BOSTON, MASS.
Mrs. W. H. Potter.

BRUCE.
Mrs. R. R. Cotten.

CARY.
M. B. Dry.

CHAPEL HILL.
Dr. Kemp P. Battle.
Collier Cobb.
Mrs. J. W. Gore.
Dr. E. K. Graham.
Dr. Edwin Greenlaw.
Dr. J. G. deR. Hamilton.
Dr. Archibald Henderson.
E. V. Howell.
Dr. Joseph Hyde Pratt.
Dr. Francis P. Venable.
N. W. Walker.
Dr. H. V. Wilson.
Dr. Louis R. Wilson.

CHARLOTTE.
Charles L. Alexander.
Miss Julia Alexander.
Miss Violet Alexander.
A. G. Brenizer.
John L. Caldwell.
John L. Chambers.
Mrs. E. M. Cole.
Mrs. I. W. Faison.
Mrs. J. A. Fore.
Mrs. C. C. Hook.
Wm. Latimer.
F. B. McDowell.
Mrs. F. B. McDowell.
Miss Bertha Morris.
H. N. Pharr.
George Stephens.
Charles S. Stone.
Mrs. John Van Landingham.
Mrs. W. W. Watt.
W. W. Watt.
J. Frank Wilkes.
Miss Ella Young.

CLAYTON.
Mrs. Hardee Horne.

CLINTON.
R. E. Faison.

COLUMBIA.
Mark Majette.

COLUMBIA, TENN.
H. A. Brown.

DALLAS, TEX.
Mrs. Leslie B. Clark.

NOTE—Unless otherwise indicated, all postoffices are in North Carolina.

Davidson.
Dr. Thomas W. Lingle.
Dr. J. M. McConnell.
Miss Cornelia Shaw.

Durham.
E. C. Brooks.
Gen. Julian S. Carr.
W. F. Carr.
Mrs. Ellen Constable.
H. L. Dalton.
Mrs. Sadie Smedes Erwin.
R. O. Everett.
P. G. Farrar.
Dr. W. P. Few.
W. W. Flowers.
T. B. Fuller.
Dr. William H. Glasson.
John Sprunt Hill.
Dr. Edgar W. Knight.
Dr. W. T. Laprade.
Mrs. Elizabeth Leak.
S. W. Minor.
E. K. Powe.
J. H. Southgate.
George W. Watts.

Edenton.
R. H. Bachman.
Rev. R. B. Drane.
Mrs. Patrick Mathew.
W. D. Pruden.
Frank Wood.
J. G. Wood.

Elizabeth City.
E. F. Aydlett.
H. T. Greenleaf, Sr.
M. T. Plyler.

Enfield.
Mrs. E. L. Whitehead.

Fayetteville.
J. H. Currie.
E. J. Hale.
Charles C. McAlister.

Franklinton.
H. E. Craven.

Gallatin, Tenn.
Mrs. C. P. Horton.

Garden City, N. Y.
Hon. Walter Page.

Garysburg.
Capt. T. W. Mason.

Goldsboro.
Hon. F. A. Daniels.
G. A. Norwood.
George C. Royall.
Miss Gertrude Weil.

Graham.
L. Banks Holt.

Greenville.
Miss Sallie Joyner Davis.
Miss Lelia S. Higgs.
Miss Marguerite A. Higgs.
Miss Mamie E. Jenkins.
Col. Harry Skinner.
Miss Daisy B. Waitt.
Robert H. Wright.

Greensboro.
W. P. Beall.
Hon. W. P. Bynum.
Ceasar Cone.
R. D. Douglas.
R. M. Douglas.
Dr. J. I. Foust.
W. C. A. Hammell.
W. C. Jackson.
Robert R. King.
J. Van Lindley.
Miss Annie F. Petty.
A. M. Scales.
Paul W. Schenck.
Miss Gertrude Sousley.
Hon. Charles M. Stedman.
Chas. L. Van Noppen.
J. Norman Wills.

Guilford College.
Dr. L. L. Hobbs.
Miss Julia S. White.

Haw River.
A. W. Haywood.

Henderson,
T. M. Pittman.
Miss Esther Royster.
F. C. Toepleman.

HICKORY.
M. E. Thornton.

HIGH POINT.
W. J. Armfield.
J. Elwood Cox.

HILLSBORO.
Miss Rebecca Cameron.
Mrs. G. P. Collins.
Frank Nash.

KINSTON.
Mrs. L. V. Archbell.
G. V. Cowper.
Dr. Ira M. Hardy.
Mrs. W. T. Hines.

KITTRELL.
O. W. Blacknall.

LENOIR.
Edmund Jones.
Hon. W. C. Newland.
Miss Susan E. Hall.

LEXINGTON.
Wade H. Phillips.
Zeb B. Walser.

LIBERTY.
W. H. Albright.

LOUISBURG.
Miss Elizabeth A. Allen.
Ivey Allen.
William H. Ruffin.

LUMBERTON.
A. W. McLean.
L. R. Varser.

MARION.
R. L. Greenlea.
I. C. Griffin.
J. W. Winborne.

MARS HILL.
Miss Ethel English.

MAXTON.
Miss Kate McA. Watson.

MOCKSVILLE.
E. L. Gaither.

MONCURE.
J. H. Wisler.

MOORESVILLE.
Mrs. George C. Goodman.

MORGANTON.
Mrs. J. E. Erwin.

MOUNT AIRY.
Miss Isabel Graves.
Mrs. R. L. Penn.
Miss Irene L. Thompson.

MURFREESBORO.
Hon. B. B. Winborne.

NEW BERN.
J. B. Blades.
Miss Bessie C. Carman.
D. L. Ward.

NEW YORK CITY.
George Gordon Battle.
Dr. H. H. Horne.
Mrs. J. W. Miller.

NORFOLK, VA.
W. D. Pender.

NORTH WILKESBORO.
Mrs. Gordon Hackett.

OLD FORT.
Miss Lennie Greenlee.

OXFORD.
Mrs. H. C. Pinnix.

PALMYRA.
Mrs. B. B. Everett.

PINEHURST.
W. C. Jones.

PITTSBORO.
Maj. H. A. London.
Mrs. H. A. London.

PORTSMOUTH, VA.
Miss May W. Cobb.

RALEIGH.
Dr. Albert Anderson.
A. B. Andrews, Jr.
Phil H. Andrews.

W. J. Andrews.
Mrs. W. J. Andrews.
Capt. S. A. Ashe.
Mrs. C. B. Aycock.
Mrs. A. L. Baker.
Jesse G. Ball.
Rev. M. A. Barber.
Miss Blanch Barrus.
Dr. Kemp P. Battle, Jr.
A. P. Bauman.
E. C. Beddingfield.
Hon. T. W. Bickett.
Mrs. T. W. Bickett.
J. Crawford Biggs.
Miss Mary S. Birdsong.
Warren H. Booker.
J. D. Boushall.
John H. Boushall.
Miss Elizabeth Briggs.
Mrs. T. H. Briggs.
T. H. Briggs.
W. G. Briggs.
L. C. Brogden.
Hon. Geo. H. Brown.
Joseph G. Brown.
Mrs. Charles Busbee.
T. H. Calvert.
Dr. E. Delia Dixon-Carroll.
Rt. Rev. Jos. B. Cheshire.
Mrs. Joseph B. Cheshire.
Joseph B. Cheshire, Jr.
Hon. Walter Clark.
Mrs. Will X. Coley.
Miss E. A. Colton.
R. D. W. Connor.
Mrs. A. D. Cooper.
Mrs. J. M. Costner.
J. M. Costner.
Mrs. L. E. Covington.
B. G. Cowper.
Albert L. Cox.
Hon. Locke Craig.
W. C. Cram.
W. C. Cram, Jr.
Miss Flora Creech.
E. B. Crow.
Ernest Cruikshank.
E. E. Culbreth.
Josephus Daniels.
Miss May Hill Davis.
Miss Penelope Davis.
Miss Daisy Denson.
Mrs. E. C. Duncan.
E. C. Duncan.
Baxter Durham.
Mrs. Jesse P. Ernshaw.
Rev. J. S. Farmer.
Alex J. Feild.
Mrs. W. J. Ferrall.
J. L. Fountain.
Mrs. J. L. Fountain.
Maj. W. A. Graham.
Col. J. Bryan Grimes.
Miss Sophie M. Grimes.
W. B. Grimes.
Miss Ruth Hannah.
F. M. Harper.
Dr. Thomas P. Harrison.
Mrs. Thomas P. Harrison.
Ernest Haywood.
F. P. Haywood.
M. DeL. Haywood.
Leo D. Heartt.
Miss Kate Herring.
Henry T. Hicks.
Dr. D. H. Hill.
Mrs. J. W. Hinsdale.
Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton.
Hon. W. A. Hoke.
Rev. A. B. Hunter.
Carey J. Hunter.
Mrs. Carey J. Hunter.
Rufus J. Hunter.
B. S. Jerman.
Col. Charles E. Johnson.
Mrs. Charles E. Johnson.
Clarence A. Johnson.
Mrs. Clarence A. Johnson.
Miss Lizzie P. Jones.
Miss Lovie Jones.
W. N. Jones.
J. Y. Joyner.
Mrs. Thomas S. Kenan.
Rev. George W. Lay.
Mrs. George W. Lay.
Miss Minnie W. Leatherman.
Mrs. Paul H. Lee.
Miss Annie Lewis.
Dr. R. H. Lewis.
Mrs. R. H. Lewis.
J. S. Mann.
W. F. Marshall.

Dr. Charles F. Meserve.
Z. P. Metcalf.
Hon. W. A. Montgomery.
Rev. H. C. Moore.
Mrs. Ruth H. Moore.
Miss Mary Moran.
Mrs. Ellen Mordecai.
F. O. Moring.
Mrs. F. O. Moring.
Hugh Morson.
N. C. Newbold.
Mrs. M. T. Norris.
Rev. T. W. O'Kelly.
Charles J. Parker.
Miss Rosa Paschal.
W. J. Peele.
Miss Emma Peet.
E. F. Pescud.
Rev. I. McK. Pittenger.
Clarence Poe.
Mrs. Clarence Poe.
Miss Eliza Pool.
Miss Ida Poteat.
Dr. George J. Ramsey.
Mrs. R. B. Raney.
Dr. W. S. Rankin.
John E. Ray.
W. T. Reaves.
Miss Mattie Reese.
W. C. Riddick.
Charles Root.
G. Rosenthal.
Miss Edith Royster.
Dr. H. A. Royster.
Miss Mary A. Schenck.
S. Brown Shepherd.
Capt. M. O. Sherrill.
Mrs. M. B. Sherwood.
Mrs. M. B. Shipp.
Dr. Charles Lee Smith.
Ed. Chambers Smith.
Mrs. Ed. Chambers Smith.
Miss Mary Shannon Smith.
J. F. Stanback.
Mrs. J. F. Stanback.
Miss Alma I. Stone.
W. E. Stone.
Dr. George Summey, Jr.
Mrs. E. E. Swindell.
Mrs. Andrew Syme.
Mrs. M. B. Terrell.
Julian B. Timberlake.
Mrs. V. E. Turner.
Rev. R. T. Vann.
W. W. Vass.
Mrs. W. W. Vass.
Hon. Platt D. Walker.
William H. Williamson.
Mrs. William H. Williamson.
Mrs. J. M. Winfree.
Robert W. Winston.
W. A. Withers
Miss Ada V. Womble.
Col. W. P. Wood.
A. H. Yerby.
J. R. Young.
Miss S. E. Young.

REIDSVILLE.
Mrs. Eugene Irvin.

RICHMOND, VA.
Dr. J. Allison Hodges.
Mrs. H. W. Jackson.
Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.
Henry Litchford.
Rev. W. W. Moore.

RICH SQUARE.
Andrew J. Conner.

ROCKY MOUNT.
Jacob Battle.
Thomas H. Battle.
J. C. Braswell.
R. H. Ricks.

ROXBORO.
Mrs. J. A. Long, Sr.

RUTHERFORDTON.
Solomon Gallert.

SALISBURY.
Eugene H. Bean.
W. C. Coughenour.
John S. Henderson.
Stahl Linn.
J. S. McCubbins.
Mrs. Mamie G. McCubbins.
Mrs. James P. Moore.
Hon. Lee S. Overman.
James H. Ramsey.

Sanford.
William Cain Jones.

Seattle, Wash.
Josiah Collins.

Smithfield.
T. J. Lassiter.

Spray.
Mrs. B. Frank Mebane.
Hon. John M. Morehead.
Mrs. John M. Morehead.

Statesville.
Mrs. D. M. Ansley.
Mrs. A. D. Cooper.
D. Matt Thompson.

Southport.
C. L. Stevens.
Mrs. C. L. Stevens.

Tallahassee, Fla.
Miss Carolina M. Brevard.

Tarboro.
Col. J. L. Bridgers.
Mrs. Jacksie D. Thrash.

Townesville.
J. M. B. Hunt.

Urbana, Ill.
Mrs. F. L. Stevens.

University, Va.
Dr. C. Alphonso Smith.

Wake Forest.
J. Henry Highsmith.
R. P. McCutcheon.
Miss Minnie Mills.
Helen Poteat.
Dr. Hubert Poteat.
Dr. W. L. Poteat.
Mrs. W. L. Poteat.

Wananish.
Kinchen B. Council.

Warrenton.
Tasker Polk.

Washington.
Hon. Stephen Bragaw.
J. E. Clark.
Mrs. S. R. Fowle.
Miss Lida T. Rodman.
Hon. J. H. Small.

Washington, D. C.
Miss Bessie Black.
Hon. P. P. Claxton.
B. J. Johnson.
W. H. Osborn.

Waynesville.
G. S. Ferguson.

Weldon.
W. E. Daniel.

Whitakers.
Dr. R. H. Speight.

Whitsett.
Dr. W. T. Whitsett.

Williamston.
Col. Wilson G. Lamb.

Wilson.
Col. J. F. Bruton.
Mrs. J. F. Bruton.
J. Dempsey Bullock.
Hon. H. G. Connor.
Mrs. H. G. Connor.
Charles L. Coon.
John D. Gold.
Jonas Oettinger.
Mrs. F. A. Woodard.

Wilmington.
Edward P. Bailey.
John D. Bellamy.
J. J. Blair.
J. O. Carr.
Mrs. R. L. Cobb.
W. J. Craig.
Mrs. W. M. Creasy.
W. M. Cumming.
Junius Davis.
Thomas W. Davis.
Theo G. Empie.
H. G. Foard.
Clayton Giles.
B. F. Hall.
Miss Susan E. Hall.
J. G. McCormick.
W. B. McKoy.

Donald McRae.
H. W. Malloy.
Miss Lucile W. Murchison.
Eric Norden.
Mrs. Richard Price.
George Rountree.
James Sprunt.
W. H. Sprunt.
M. S. Willard.

WINDSOR.
Hon. Francis D. Winston.

WINSTON-SALEM.
Dr. Henry T. Bahnson.
Mrs. Henry T. Bahnson.
William A. Blair.
M. L. Erwin.
Mrs. M. F. P. Fearington.
Miss Adelaide Fries.
Col. H. E. Fries.
Mrs. Lindsay Patterson.
Wm. S. Pfohl.
Mrs. R. J. Reynolds.
Mrs. W. N. Reynolds.
J. Hampton Rich.
Rt. Rev. Edward Rondthaler.
Rev. Howard Rondthaler.
Miss C. L. Shaffner.
Mrs. W. O. Spencer.
Wachovia Historical Society.

314

Date Due

16May'49	Mark		
~~6 Aug '59~~			

Library Bureau Cat. No. 1137